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TWENTY - THIRD NATIONAL  
CONVENTION  
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY  
MAY 3 - MAY 5, 1952



# Twenty-Third National Convention Socialist Labor Party

May 3-5, 1952

Minutes, Reports, Platform, Resolutions, Etc.



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National Executive Committee  
Socialist Labor Party  
61 Cliff Street  
New York 38, N.Y.



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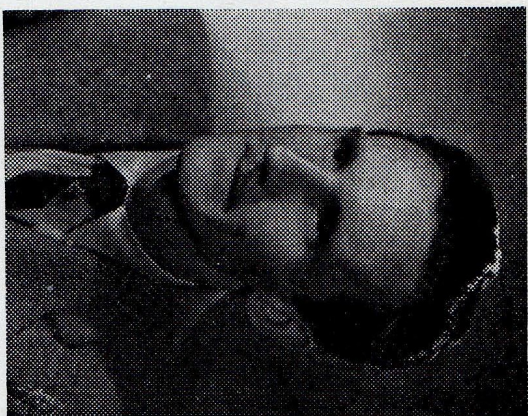
# Twenty-Third National Convention Socialist Labor Party

May 3-5, 1952

Minutes, Reports, Platform, Resolutions, Etc.



**ERIC HASS**  
*Socialist Labor Party Candidate  
For President, 1952*



**STEPHEN EMERY**  
*Socialist Labor Party Candidate  
For Vice President, 1952*

Superficial evidence to the contrary, there are only *two* parties entered in this campaign. One is the multi-headed capitalist party, which includes, besides the Democrats and Republicans, various self-styled "radical" parties that are bent on reforming capitalism. The other is the Socialist Labor Party, the party of the working class.... [The S.L.P.] is the only party that offers a positive program for bringing society safely through this crisis and putting it back on the road to progress and security.... With all the earnestness at our command we appeal to you to free yourself from the mental shackles and habits of thought that capitalism has fastened upon you. Study the platform of the S.L.P. and cast your ballot for freedom, security and peace through Socialism!

A social hurricane of terrifying proportions and fury is unmistakably on the way. The storm may break either as a global economic collapse or as a suicidal war between the American and Stalinist imperialisms....

Our duty is, therefore, clear. In our ranks there reside the Marxist and De Leonist principles that will bury the old world and bring forth the new. We must promote the program of Socialist Industrial Unionism with the very last ounce of our resources....

Workers, repudiate the parties that stand for the reform and preservation of capitalism! Cast your majority ballot for Socialism by voting the S.L.P. ticket.... **YOU ALONE**, united politically and industrially on Socialist lines, can be the architects of a better world!



Published 1953

National Executive Committee

Socialist Labor Party

61 Cliff Street

New York 38, N.Y.



## Opening Address of National Secretary Arnold Petersen at the 23rd National Convention, Socialist Labor Party

Once again the undaunted Socialist Labor Party meets in National Convention, and once again we fling our challenge at the parasitical and useless capitalist class, denying its right, morally and socially, to the wealth it has abstracted from labor, and the power and privileges it has usurped. We denounce capitalism as the supreme evil of the age, the cause of wars, poverty and slavery, and we pronounce the once progressive, but now utterly reactionary, capitalist class a criminal class, as harmful to society and social progress as were the most detested tyrants of bygone ages.

One hundred years ago this country was torn by a fierce, irrepressible conflict, and events were shaping themselves for the great climax that, thirteen years later, was to break forever the physical chains that bound the hapless bondsman. Now, one hundred years later, this country and the world are again torn by fierce and irrepressible conflict, and again events are shaping themselves for the great climax of the not too distant future, the climax that will result in the breaking of the moral and legal bonds that now fetter the exploited and despoiled wage slave.

As they did in 1852, so now in 1952, the American people, and above all the American working

class, are facing a great, historic Presidential campaign. The throbbing chattel slavery question of one hundred years ago was smothered in meaningless professions of adherence to the Constitution, which both dominant parties — Democrats and Whigs — agreed to legalize and sanctified the institution of slavery. Both parties, in 1852, as in 1952, experienced great difficulty in agreeing upon Presidential candidates, and then as now one of the leading contenders was a general. The Democrats finally nominated Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, while the Whigs nominated General Winfield Scott. Neither candidate was a man of consequence, and Pierce was elected.

A contemporary report tells us that "The declarations of sentiment, or platforms, of the two parties were less antagonistic than usual. The distinctive principles of the respective parties were less prominently set forth; while upon certain abstract questions, *and the subject of slavery*, the two conventions took the same ground." And the report added: "Judging simply from their respective platforms, it would seem that there was little ground for a very active and vigorous contest between the parties." And the interesting comment was made that "Much had been expect-



ed from the military popularity of General Scott." He proved a dismal failure as a Presidential aspirant.

Presently we shall witness the enactment of similar scenes by the two bankrupt majority parties, and if the ghosts of Pierce and Scott were to flit across the stages of the two conventions, they might be forgiven for thinking that they had just awakened from a sound sleep to renew their battle for the Presidency! Bankruptcy is indeed written all over the capitalist parties today, as it was written all over their counterparts of one hundred years ago!

And so again today the great throbbing question of the age—wage slavery—is being smothered by meaningless phrases concerning states' rights and the sanctity of the Constitution and of private property. Again a man of no consequence will be elected President, and as regards the basic, throbbing issue of wage-slave labor versus emancipated labor, it will be shunted and if possible ignored, as chattel slavery was shunted and ignored in the campaign of 1852. But not for long. That issue, that burning question of today, will not be downed any more than the basic issue was downed one hundred years ago, however much the property provisions of the Constitution may be cited, however much the

politicians and their plutocratic masters prate about "states' rights," and no matter who is elected President, be he five-star general or run-of-the-mill politician.

It is the mission and the task of the Socialist Labor Party in this campaign—as in all past campaigns—to lay bare the real, the fundamental issue, and to tear to shreds the veil of pretense and hypocrisy with which all the parties of capitalism seek to cover it; to reveal the inherent rottenness and corruption of capitalism in every phase and on every level; to demonstrate beyond peradventure that this criminal system cannot and shall not be mended, that it must and will be ended. It is reserved to our Party alone to proclaim these truths as self-evident to the workers of America, and to teach them how to organize, and for what purpose, lest they and all civilization be sent hurtling down the abyss of another Dark Age! Whatever may be the outcome of this campaign, we shall at long last succeed, and insure for ourselves and our children that this earth be cleansed for all time of the rule of exploiters and social criminals—that for all time war, slavery and poverty shall be banished from this strife-torn globe, and that freedom, peace and abundance shall be established as the eternal order of things.

## THE 23rd NATIONAL CONVENTION

of the

### SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

#### Minutes of the Proceedings of the Convention

*Morning Session, Saturday, May 3*

Convention called to order at 11 a.m. by National Secretary Arnold Petersen, at the Henry Hudson Hotel, New York City, with the following address: (See page 5.)

John P. Quinn, of Massachusetts, was elected temporary chairman.

Herbert Steiner, of California, was elected temporary vice chairman.

Aaron M. Orange, of New York, was elected temporary recording secretary.

A Credentials Committee was elected as follows: R. Long (California), T. Gramaticoff (Bulgarian S.L.F.), H. Killman (Washington).

A recess was declared to permit the Credentials Committee to examine the credentials of the delegates and report.

The Credentials Committee reported that the following states and Federations are entitled to representation at the 23rd National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, and credentials from the following delegates were reported received:

California, 2 delegates, R. W. Long, H. Steiner. Colorado, 1 delegate, Irene Kelly. Connecticut, 1 delegate, J. Mackay. District of Columbia, 1 delegate, I. Bickweat. Illinois, 1 delegate, F. Schnur. Indiana, 1 delegate, G. Long. Massachusetts, 1 delegate, J. P. Quinn. Michigan, 1 delegate, J. Sim. Minnesota, 1 delegate, R. Schelin. Missouri, 1 delegate, Clara Hayes. New Jersey, 1 delegate, J. Levin. New York, 3 delegates, A. M. Orange, S. Emery, N. Karp. Ohio, 1 delegate, J. Pirincin. Oregon, 1 delegate, C. W. Turner. Pennsylvania, 1 delegate, E. A. Teichert. Washington, 1 delegate, H. Killman. Wisconsin, 1 delegate, Georgia Cozzini. Bulgarian S.L.F., 4 delegates, T. Baeff, T. Gramaticoff, D. D. Dobreff, S. Sterioff. Hungarian S.L.F., 2 delegates, F. Kardos, T. Vasily. South Slavonian S.L.F., 3 delegates, L. Petrovich, L. Stefanovich, P. Slepceovich.

The Credentials Committee reported receipt of credentials of Fraternal Delegate Paul Debragh, Canadian Socialist Labor Party, but reported that Comrade Debragh had not yet arrived.

The Credentials Committee reported also the presence of the National Secretary of the British Socialist Labor Party, Comrade Leonard Cotton, guest of the American S.L.P.

The committee recommended that the foregoing delegates to the convention be seated. On motion, the report was concurred in.



On motion, the following Order of Business and Rules was adopted:

A

1. Organization. (a) Election of chairman, vice chairman and secretary.
- (b) Election of permanent sergeant at arms and messenger.
2. Election of Committee on Mileage (2).
3. Report of the National Executive Committee.
4. Report of the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.
5. Election of Committee on Constitution and matters pertaining thereto (3).
6. Election of Committee on Platform and Resolutions pertaining thereto (3).
7. Election of Auditing Committee (2).
8. Election of Committee on Party Press and Literature (3).
9. Election of Committee on General Agitation (3).
10. Election of National Campaign Committee (3).
11. Roll Call of Delegates for the introduction of Resolutions for reference to committees.
12. Adjournment—4:30 p.m.

B

The following order of business for each day *after* the first day:

1. Election of chairman.
2. Roll call of delegates.
3. Reading of minutes.
4. Communications.
5. Reports of committees and action thereon.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. The last half-hour of each afternoon session to be devoted to the receiving of resolutions to be read and referred to the appropriate committees.
9. Morning sessions from 10 a.m. to 12 m. Afternoon sessions from 1:30 p.m. to 6 p.m. Evening sessions if necessary.

C

1. Nomination of candidates for United States President and Vice President, 3 p.m., second day of convention.
  2. Election of Committee on Vacancies, following nominations for President and Vice President.
  3. Election of National Secretary, second day of the convention.
  4. Election of Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, second day of the convention.
  5. Report of Committee on Platform, second day of the convention, immediately following election of officers.
  6. Reports of delegates, fraternal and otherwise, last day of convention.
- On motion, the following officers were made permanent for the day: John

P. Quinn (Massachusetts), chairman; Herbert Steiner (California), vice chairman.

On motion, the temporary recording secretary, Aaron M. Orange (New York), was elected permanent recording secretary for the duration of the convention.

Sophie Blume was appointed assistant recording secretary, for the duration of the convention.

Walter Steinliber was appointed permanent sergeant at arms; Nathan Rothman was appointed messenger.

On motion, a Committee on Mileage was elected as follows: H. Steiner (California), Theo. Vaszily (Hungarian S.L.F.)

A recess was declared to permit the Committee on Mileage to prepare its report.

On reconvening, the committee reported a total mileage of \$2,087.73, and recommended that this amount be paid to the various delegates. On motion, concurred in.

On motion, the convention adjourned at 12:15 p.m., to reconvene for the afternoon session at 1:30 p.m.

*Afternoon Session, Saturday, May 3.*

The convention was called to order by chairman Quinn at 1:45 p.m.

On roll call, all delegates present with the exception of Gordon Long (Indiana), who arrived late.

The National Secretary reported that the amount of \$133.47, which had been advanced to one of the delegates prior to the convention, was not included in the total mileage reported by the Committee on Mileage, the correct total being \$2,221.20.

The Credentials Committee having reported the arrival of Paul Debragh, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Socialist Labor Party, the Committee on Mileage submitted a supplementary report, recommending payment of his mileage of \$31. On motion, concurred in.

The National Secretary began the reading of the report of the N.E.C. to the convention at 1:50 p.m.

On motion, the convention adjourned at 4:30 p.m.

*Morning Session, Sunday, May 4.*

Convention called to order at 10:10 a.m.

On motion, Nathan Karp, New York, was elected chairman for the day, and Georgia Cozzini (Wisconsin) vice chairman.

On roll call, all present with the exception of Irene Kelly (Colorado) and H. Killman (Washington), who arrived after roll call.

Minutes of the May 3 session were adopted as read.

The National Secretary resumed and concluded the reading of the report of the National Executive Committee.

Following the reading of the "In Memoriam" section, the convention was called upon to rise in silent tribute to the departed comrades.



On motion, the report was accepted and referred to appropriate committees.

The Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, Eric Hass, rendered his report. On motion, the report was accepted.

On motion, the following committees were elected:

Committee on Constitution and Matters Pertaining Thereto: J. P. Quinn (Massachusetts), F. Schnur (Illinois), S. Sterioff (Bulgarian S.L.F.).

Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto: J. Sim (Michigan), N. Karp (New York), G. Cozzini (Wisconsin).

Committee on Party Press and Literature: G. Long (Indiana), T. Gramaticoff (Bulgarian S.L.F.), S. Emery (New York).

Committee on General Agitation: J. Pirincin (Ohio), H. Steiner (California), D. D. Dobreff (Bulgarian S.L.F.).

Committee on National Campaign: E. A. Teichert (Pennsylvania), J. Pirincin (Ohio), R. Long (California).

Auditing Committee: J. Mackay (Connecticut), C. W. Turner (Oregon).

The chairman suggested that Comrade Louis D. Cohen be invited by the Committee on National Campaign to participate in their deliberations because of his intimate knowledge of the mechanics and details of campaign activities. On motion, concurred in.

Resolutions were submitted by delegates as follows:

R. Long, California:

1. Re self-service WEEKLY PEOPLE newsstands on a national scale. On motion, referred to Committee on Party Press and Literature.
2. On preparation of manual on techniques of various methods of Party agitation. To Committee on General Agitation.
3. On preparation of films for educational and agitational purposes. To Committee on General Agitation.
4. Re textbook for study classes. To Party Press and Literature.
5. Re additional pamphlet (or pamphlets) to be issued similar to "What is Socialism?" and revision, if necessary, of the present pamphlet. To Party Press and Literature.

S. Sterioff, Bulgarian S.L.F.: That a National Campaign Fund "Voluntary" Assessment of \$1 monthly be continued for four years, through 1956. To Committee on National Campaign.

Motion carried that a collection be taken up at each session.

The collection called for by the chairman brought \$76.19.

On motion, adjourned at 12:30 p.m., to reconvene at 2 p.m.

#### *Afternoon Session, Sunday, May 4.*

Convention called to order at 2:30 p.m.

On roll call, all present.

On motion, the rules were suspended to hear the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.

The committee submitted the proposed National Platform for 1952, reading it in its entirety. On motion, the Platform was placed before the Conven-

tion for action on each paragraph serialim. The first three paragraphs were read and adopted.

The rules were suspended at 2:55 p.m. for nomination of national candidates and election of national officers.

On motion by John P. Quinn (Massachusetts), seconded by Theo. Gramaticoff (Bulgarian S.L.F.), Eric Hass, of New York, was unanimously nominated, by a rising vote, as the candidate for President of the United States.

On motion by Joseph Pirincin (Ohio), seconded by Herbert Steiner (California), Stephen Emery of New York was unanimously nominated, by a rising vote, as the candidate for Vice President of the United States.

On motion by F. Schnur (Illinois), seconded by E. A. Teichert (Pennsylvania), the N.E.C. Sub-Committee was constituted the Committee on Vacancies. On motion by James Sim (Michigan), seconded by I. Bickweat (District of Columbia), Arnold Petersen was unanimously re-elected National Secretary by a rising vote.

On motion by E. A. Teichert (Pennsylvania), seconded by S. Emery (New York), Eric Hass was unanimously re-elected Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, by a rising vote.

Brief talks of acceptance were delivered by the national candidates and the National Secretary.

On motion, reverted back to the reading of the proposed National Platform. On motion, the following paragraphs were amended: #9, #11, #22, #23, #24, #26. On motion, the National Platform of 1952 as a whole was unanimously adopted.

On motion, a ten-minute recess was declared at 4:55 p.m.

Called to order at 5:20 p.m.

The following resolutions were submitted by Jules Levin (New Jersey) and, on motion, referred to Committee on National Campaign:

1. Calling members to devote half of their vacation time to Party activities during the 1952 campaign.
2. Recommending that the National Office print small leaflets with space provided for local imprint.

The collection taken up amounted to \$52.17.

On motion, the convention adjourned at 5:30 p.m., to reconvene Monday, May 5, at 10 a.m.

#### *Morning Session, Monday, May 5.*

Called to order at 10:05 a.m., by N. Karp.

On motion, N. Karp (New York) was elected chairman for the day; T. Gramaticoff (Bulgarian S.L.F.), vice chairman for the day.

On roll call, all present.

Minutes of the sessions of Sunday, May 4, adopted as read.

#### *Reports of Committees*

Committee on Constitution and Matters Pertaining Thereto (John P. Quinn, Massachusetts, reporting):



Recommended concurrence in the following amendments proposed in the report of the N.E.C., and on motion approved:

1. Article II, Section 29 (c).
2. Article II, Section 34 (a).
3. Article III, Section 40.
4. Article IV, Section 1.
5. Article V, Section 17.

6. Article VII, Section 2 (basis of representation at National Conventions to be one delegate for every 35 members or major fraction thereof.).

7. Article XIII, new section.

8. Article XIII, new section (or sub-Section 5-b).

The committee recommended amending the constitution by adding a new Section 5 to Article XI, as follows:

"The Editor shall be required to render a written report annually to the N.E.C. in session, and also to the national convention."

On motion, concurred in.

On motion, the report of the Committee on Constitution and Matters Pertaining Thereto was adopted as a whole.

Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto (J. Sim, Michigan, reporting):

Recommended adoption of resolutions which were concurred in as follows:

1. On the De Leon Centennial—as submitted.
2. On Racism—with amendments.
3. On the Economic Organization of Labor—with amendments.
4. On Interference with Civil Liberties—with amendments.

At 11 a.m. Fred Kardos (Hungarian S.L.F.) requested to be excused for a few hours. Granted.

The chairman announced that he was informed by the organizer of Section Los Angeles, Herman Barefield, that the Subdivisions in the Los Angeles area held a De Leon Centennial Celebration on the evening of Sunday, May 4, at which the collection taken up for the National Campaign Fund totaled \$960.

A collection was taken up amounting to \$40.04.

Convention adjourned at 12:15 to reconvene at 2 p.m.

#### *Afternoon Session Monday, May 5.*

Called to order at 2:15 p.m.

On roll call, all present with the exception of I. Bickweat (D.C.).

#### *Reports of Committees*

Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto (G. Cozzini, Wisconsin, reporting):

Recommended adoption of

5. Resolution on the International Situation and International Socialism. On motion, concurred in, with the provision that an editorial change be made in paragraph #8, to include a reference to S.L.P. organizations in other countries.

6. Resolution on the Corruption of the Capitalist State. On motion, concurred in.

7. Resolution on the Church in Politics. On motion adopted, with the provision that an editorial change be made in the resolution to include a reference to the ultimate goal of the Roman Catholic political machine, which is to dominate society.

Motion carried to reconsider the resolution on "Interference with Civil Liberties." Amendment proposed to this resolution not concurred in.

On motion, report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto adopted as a whole.

Auditing Committee (C. W. Turner, Oregon) reported as follows: "The accounts of the National Office and Party Plant have been audited for the years 1948, 1949, 1950 and 1951. Committee recommends that these financial reports be adopted." On motion, concurred in.

Committee on Party Press and Literature (G. Long, Indiana, reporting): Recommended adoption of resolutions as follows, which were concurred in, by motion:

1. Re increasing WEEKLY PEOPLE circulation and subscriptions:

"That this Convention stress the great need of the Party membership's increasing the WEEKLY PEOPLE subscription list; and

"That the effectiveness of the following methods for achieving this result be emphasized:

"I. Increasing our individual agitation among our fellow workers, friends, and other personal contacts, striving always to stimulate and cultivate interest in the S.L.P. and its literature, and therewith in its official organ. Experience shows that this is the Party's most fruitful source of new WEEKLY PEOPLE subscriptions.

"II. A systematic, energetic and persistent follow-up—in person, if at all possible—of every contact added to the lists of our respective Subdivisions. This, too, where carried out, has brought us many new WEEKLY PEOPLE readers.

"III. Putting on WEEKLY PEOPLE street sales drives similar to our P-days (even conducting such W.P. sales in conjunction with pamphlet street sales where it can be arranged). The records show, where pamphlet street sales have earnestly been pushed, excellent results for our Party have been obtained.

"IV. Resuming, after the close of the 1952 campaign, the systematic mailing of WEEKLY PEOPLES to selected names, in quantities proportionate to each Subdivision's resources.

2. "That, in line with the National Editor's request, this convention impress upon the Subdivisions of the Party the need for promptly forwarding to the WEEKLY PEOPLE obituarial information and material concerning comrades and sympathizers who pass away.

3. "That the review and summation which conclude the N.E.C. report to this 23rd National Convention be published as a pamphlet, with the details of publication to be left to the National Executive Committee."

4. On resolution submitted by R. Long (California) that an additional



pamphlet or pamphlets on the type of "What is Socialism?" be issued, recommended "that this convention approve the idea, and that such a pamphlet or pamphlets be prepared and published as conditions may permit; and that the present 'What Is Socialism?' pamphlet be revised if necessary."

5. On resolution by R. Long (California) re self-service newsstands—that these having proved their value in increasing WEEKLY PEOPLE sales, members and Subdivisions be encouraged to investigate the practicalities of such stands in their localities, the National Organization to make available directions, etc., for setting up and servicing the stands—the committee recommended that "This convention heartily approve the self-service newsstand method of increasing our WEEKLY PEOPLE readership, and that the details of obtaining a wider use of this method be left to the National Office."

6. On resolution by R. Long (California) re textbook for S.L.P. study classes: the committee recommended "that work on such a textbook be begun." On motion, concurred in with amendment, the phrase "*at the earliest possible moment*," added.

Committee on General Agitation (J. Pirincin, Ohio, for the committee) reported as follows, and on motion, recommendations were adopted:

"Your committee has given careful consideration to the question of general agitation. In noting the fact brought out in the N.E.C. report to the convention that there has been a general let-down in Party agitation, your committee found that the problem is not one of finding new methods of agitation, but one of getting the necessary membership cooperation to use the already known methods. Proceeding from this basis, your committee makes the following recommendations:

"1. Leaflet Distribution.

"As it is generally recognized that leaflet distribution is the one means at our disposal for mass agitation that is within our ability to finance and our physical capacity to carry out and, on the whole, the means that can be least denied to us by the powers of capital and the forces of reaction, your committee recommends that we set as our goal the distribution of a minimum of seven million leaflets per year, and that the National Office break down the figure on a per capita basis and set up quotas for each Section in somewhat the same manner as the quota for the National Campaign Fund.

"2. Radio Broadcasting.

"Your committee recognizes that radio broadcasting, in other than campaign time, is a means of agitation that is often denied to us even though we may have the necessary funds. Nevertheless, your committee recommends that continued efforts be made toward the use of radio and television facilities and, above all, that Party Subdivisions pay particular attention to radio and TV programs, in the territory under the Subdivisions' jurisdiction, that are of the so-called 'public interest' nature, and offer Party representatives for such programs to present our views on the question under discussion.

"3. Letters to the Press.

"Your committee has given careful consideration to that part of the National Executive Committee's report dealing with this question. Your com-

mittee is mindful of the fact that there is, on the whole, a conspiracy of silence against the Party, but your committee also feels that much, much more publicity can be gotten by the Party in the capitalist press if a greater number of our members would apply themselves to this task as some members are doing now, outstanding among them being our veteran Comrade Frank Knotek of Erie, Pennsylvania. Your committee recommends that the suggestion contained in the report of the N.E.C., regarding preparation of letters by the National Office or the Editorial Office and the submission of same to members (or sympathizers) willing to retype them and send them to their local newspapers, be put into effect at the earliest possible date.

"4. General Publicity.

"As with letters to the press, so with general publicity, your committee feels that we are not getting as much space as would be the case if more effort were put forth in the preparation of suitable press releases announcing Party activities. Your committee recommends that Party Subdivisions be urged to make public announcement of their activities to the local press and to news editors of local radio stations.

"5. Public Meetings.

"Your committee has given careful consideration to the question of public meetings. We have taken cognizance of the fact that there has been a steady falling off in attendance, but your committee does not share the view that poor attendance is due entirely to radio, television and other diversions. Your committee recommends, therefore, that the Party's Subdivisions be urged to plan their meetings with greater care, using more thorough advertising with special emphasis on the distribution of a vastly increased number of Party leaflets with imprints or attached stickers announcing our public meetings.

"6. Contact Work.

"This important part of Party activity has been emphasized and re-emphasized by our conventions and N.E.C. sessions. Your committee does not find that it can add anything to what has been said already on the subject, other than to recommend that our contact work be enlarged and that the Subdivisions keep their mailing lists up to date.

"7. Study Classes.

"Here, too, your committee finds that it cannot add anything to what has been said on this important subject, other than to emphasize that greater effort should be put forth toward increasing the number of S.L.P. study classes. Your committee feels that wherever there are enough members for an S.L.P. Section, there can be no question of their being a sufficient number of members for an S.L.P. study class.

"8. Weekly People Clubs.

"The value of Weekly People Clubs as a source of financial support for our official organ is undeniable. Your committee can do no more than recommend anew that greater effort be put forth to organize more Weekly People Clubs.

"9. Resolution by R. Long, California:

"Whereas the use of films has proved effective in education,



'Be it resolved that the S.L.P. develop films of educational and agitational nature suitable for discussion groups, study classes, lectures, television programs, etc.'

"Your committee has considered the above resolution and finds that the Party has already taken some steps in this direction. Your committee agrees that the idea should be developed further and recommends that this matter be referred to the N.E.C. for further consideration.

"10. Resolution by R. Long, California:

'Whereas it is highly desirable to have a membership well trained to carry on agitation efficiently,

'Be it resolved that the Party issue a manual or manuals (probably in mimeograph form) that will collect and make easily available the techniques and various aspects of agitation such as hall, street and radio speaking, distribution of leaflets, contact, handling self-service newsstands, collecting signatures, teaching study classes, conducting discussion groups, securing free radio time, securing a hearing before universities, labor union locals and other groups and other important agitational matters.'

"Your committee has considered the resolution on a Party 'Manual' and agrees with the idea in principle. Your committee, however, does not feel that it can do anything about the matter at this time beyond recommending referral to the N.E.C. for further consideration, and hereby so recommends."

Committee on National Campaign (E. A. Teichert, Pennsylvania, reporting):

Submitted resolutions as follows, recommending their adoption:

"1. Your Committee recommends that the convention endorse the action of the N.E.C. in calling for a \$200,000 National Campaign Fund and the various methods now being utilized to raise this amount." Ruled out of order by the chair.

"2. Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution re continuation of the present 'Voluntary' Assessment of \$1 per month for the Campaign Fund for the next four years. The committee feels that it would be difficult to get contributions following the campaign and the fund would lie dormant for the most part. Furthermore, such an extended assessment would hinder the establishment of other funds and 'voluntary' assessments that would be more actively supported." On motion, concurred in.

"3. In accord with the resolution submitted, your committee recommends that this convention go on record as appealing to all members to devote at least half of their vacation period to leaflet distribution and other agitational activities during the campaign." On motion, concurred in.

"4. In line with a resolution submitted to your committee, we recommend that leaflets and/or fliers carrying the S.L.P. message and an interest coupon, which can be imprinted with a lecture or radio broadcast announcement, be made available to the Sections. It is understood that not all campaign leaflets could be so designed." On motion, concurred in.

"5. Your committee recommends concurrence in the plan set forth by the N.E.C. for touring the Party's national candidates." On motion, concurred in.

"6. Your committee recommends that effort be made to qualify on the ballot in as many states as possible." On motion, concurred in.

"7. Your committee recommends that radio and television be used during the campaign to the extent that funds permit, making due allowance for the expenses of other agitational activities. Subdivisions and members should be alert at all times for free radio time." On motion, concurred in.

"8. Your committee recommends that any details of the campaign not specifically handled by the national convention be left to the judgment of the N.E.C." On motion, concurred in with amendment, changing "N.E.C." to "National Office."

At 4:05 p.m. a recess of 10 minutes was declared.

Called to order at 4:30 p.m.

The reports of the Bulgarian, Hungarian and South Slavonian Socialist Labor Federations, which were incorporated in the report of the N.E.C. to the convention, were read and adopted.

Fraternal Delegate Paul Debraugh, National Secretary of the S.L.P. of Canada, and Leonard Cotton, National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain, addressed the convention.

On motion by J. Sim (Michigan), the convention recorded its appreciation of services rendered during the convention by Sophie Blume and Louis D. Cohen.

Motion (by Joseph Pirincin, Ohio):

"Recognizing the fact that the prevailing dollar buys less than half of what the dollar of 1939 could buy, and recognizing that this applies to our convention-N.E.C. mileage assessment dollar, and recognizing further that we have already adopted a constitutional amendment to increase the number of national convention delegates, I move that the convention-N.E.C. mileage assessment be raised from one dollar to two dollars per year, this to be done by the following constitutional amendments:

"Article V, Section 15, change the figure '50 cents' to 'one dollar,' and the words 'one dollar' to 'two dollars.'"

"Article X, Section 1, change the figure '50 cents' to read 'one dollar.'"

Carried.

A collection was called for, which amounted to \$43.03.

Minutes of the May 5 sessions were read and adopted.

On motion, minutes of the convention as a whole were adopted.

The convention adjourned at 5:45 p.m., sine die.

Fraternally submitted,

AARON M. ORANGE,

Recording Secretary.

Sophie Blume,

Assistant Recording Secretary.



## REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

To the 23rd National Convention, Socialist Labor Party, May 3, 1952.  
Comrade Delegates, Greetings:

The 23rd National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party meets in circumstances that are at once auspicious and menacing, yet charged with the greatest ultimate promise. The circumstances are auspicious because we meet in this quadrennial convention in the centennial year of the birth of our great founder, Daniel De Leon. It is rather difficult to realize that one hundred years have passed since De Leon was born, especially so for those of us who knew him personally, who saw him in the prime of his life, in full intellectual and physical vigor, and to whom his thought-laden and deed-inspiring words came fresh and strong, words that echo and re-echo resoundingly down through the decades. And yet, so it is.

Thirty-eight long years have passed since his voice was forever stilled, and his potent pen fell from his firm grasp. There was no one then, and has been no one since, equal to the task of lifting it. Yet so rich was the heritage he left us, so potent were his thoughts, so timeless his words, and so well had he wrought, that the sturdy band he had rallied around him found it possible to carry on the great task he had initiated, to continue the or-

ganization that he had shaped, keeping it abreast of developments, alerting it to the dangers ever threatening the integrity of the proletarian movement, and fully alive to the opportunities that presented themselves.

As we pause today to review past events, and to steer our course toward the future, we perceive not only a long battle-strewn road behind us, not only a difficult road ahead, but—thanks to De Leon's genius—we view with supreme confidence, as from a mountain top, the troubled and confusing scene around us in clear and unobstructed perspective. The weapons he forged are still in sturdy hands. The thoughts to which he gave expression are as powerful and meaningful as ever, and his words—his written words—are as applicable to events and working-class purposes as when he gave them wing in that seemingly long-past day. De Leon built well and with care, for he knew that errors ignored or slurred over would come back to haunt and plague those who would have to pick up the heavy burden under which he some day perforce would sink.

Truly, De Leon chartered our course for us, pointing out the pit-

falls and marking the vantage points with a degree of accuracy and foresight not equalled since the days of Marx and Engels. Having clearly outlined and defined the goal-form, function and purpose—he at the same time formulated the tactics to conform to the goal, for, as he put it, "Goals determine methods." The methods, the tactics, then, are of vital importance. Consonant with these must be the code of ethics, the procedural concepts, relating to and illuminating the goal. This code of ethics, these Socialist concepts, he laid down in his celebrated "Ten Canons of the Proletarian Revolution." Would that every De Leonist militant would learn these by heart! They not only inspire and instruct, but they also lend deeper conviction and increased fortitude to the militant.

In the first canon he emphasized that "the Proletarian Revolution abhors forms"; he warned against the lures held before the workers by capitalist agents, and urged the exploited wage slave "to keep his eyes riveted upon the economic interests of his own class...." In the second canon he demonstrated that "the proletarian revolution is relentlessly logical"—that it can know no so-called tolerance, since "tolerance" in the premises means tolerance of evil, capitalism being supremely evil. "With the Proletarian Revolution," he warned, "not a point that it scores, not an act that it commits deliberately, not a claim that it sets forth may be at fisticuffs with another, or with the principles that they are born of."

In the third canon he pointed out that "Palliatives are palliations of wrong"; the palliative, he insisted, "ever steels the wrong that is palliated," and that "nothing is gained on the road of palliatives—all may be lost." In the fourth canon he laid down the principle that "the Proletarian Revolution brings along its own code"—that it "marches by its own light; its acts are to be judged by the code of legality that itself carries in its folds, [and] not by the standard of the existing law, which is but the reflex of existing usurpation." This does not mean that revolutionists "on the way" may or should flout the existing law—it does mean that once the revolution has succeeded, it establishes its own code of legality and ethics, the legality as well as the ethics being *in substance* consonant with the dictates of civilization, since Socialism is the ultimate flowering of civilization.

In the fifth canon De Leon stated that "the Proletarian Revolution is 'irreverent,'" meaning by "irreverence" the kind that, in the hour of revolution, holds the institutions of the usurping class in contempt. "Reverence for the usurper," he added, "denotes mental...subjection to usurpation." In canon six we are warned that "the Proletarian Revolution is [must be] self-reliant"—"it is sufficient unto itself." It must not lean on the class enemy, nor seek "alliances abroad." Canon seven declared that "the Proletarian Revolution spins sops," the sop being defined as a narcotic, a "bon-bon," designed to soothe, or as "a broken reed on



which to lean." "The revolution-ist," said De Leon, "must never throw sops at the revolutionary element. The instant he does, he places himself at the mercy of the foe: he can always be out-sopped." "Not sops, but the unconditional surrender of capitalism, is the battle cry of the Proletarian Revolution."

In the eighth canon De Leon exposed the danger of the demagogue, the histrionic spellbinder. "The Proletarian Revolution," he insisted, "is [must be] impelled and held together by reason, not rhetoric." "The proletarian army of emancipation," he urged, "cannot consist of a dumb driven herd." It must "be marked by sense, not sound." "Rhetoric," he continued, "is a weapon of reform; it may plow the ground, it does not sow." How well that truth has been demonstrated through the years, and how bitterly the workers have paid for ignoring the lessons, in blood and tears!

In the ninth canon, "The Proletarian Revolution deals not in double sense," De Leon proclaimed one of the most important Marxist truths. "It is at its peril," he said, "that a revolution conceals its purpose," and this is most true of the Proletarian Revolution. To speak with a double tongue, to practice duplicity, to justify the means by the end, and to indulge in mummery, all fatedly lead to disaster. The enemy is not deceived by double-talk or false pretenses, but the revolutionary class may suffer, and often has suffered, shipwreck through deception practiced on it by trusted leaders.

"Pantomimes, double sense and mummery," said De Leon, "may answer the purpose of a movement in which the proletariat acts only the role of dumb driven beasts of burden." Classconsciousness is a necessary condition for the success of the Proletarian Revolution, and it cannot be promoted by guile or Machiavellian tactics. How true that is has been demonstrated in the past through the tactics and reform program of the bourgeois Socialist party, and more recently through the criminal tactics of the Stalinists. The disastrous results of such a policy have been spelled out for all to read in the despotism established by the Russian betrayers of Marxism, and their enslavement of the Russian workers. In laying down the principle that "pantomimes, mummery and double sense are utterly repellent to, and repelled by, the Proletarian Revolution," it was as if De Leon's prophetic eye had envisioned the assassination of Marxism by the Stalinist traitors and adventurers.

Finally, in the tenth canon De Leon presented a summation of the preceding nine by concluding that "the Proletarian Revolution is a character builder." "It must," he said, "be intent upon promoting the character and moral fiber of the mass." A revolutionary class that can be corrupted is destined for the shambles or for intensified slavery. "Beggars," he said, "can only desert and compromise; they cannot carry out a revolution." And pointing out that the "Canons of the Proletarian Revolution" all dovetail into each other, being

thoroughly integrated, all proceeding from the same central principle, he summarized them in a brilliant passage in which he recounted the disastrous fate that befell the Roman proletariat as a result of following the blundering Cracchian tactics:

"Their [the Roman proletarians] energies consumed with tinkerings on 'forms'; their intellect cracked by illogical postures; the edge of their revolutionary dignity blunted by 'precedents'; their mental vigor palsied by veneration of the unvenerable; their self-reliance broken by leaning on hostile elements; their resolution warped by sops; their minds left vacant with rhetoric; their senses entertained with pantomimes; finally, their character dragged down to the ditch of the beggar—what wonder that, the moment the Roman proletariat were brought to the scratch, they acquitted themselves like beggars, made their peace with the usurper, and left their leaders in the lurch?"

No more powerful warning and lessons can be found in modern revolutionary literature than those contained in De Leon's "Ten Canons." And never were the warning and the lessons so desperately needed by a revolutionary class as at this fated hour. So it seems appropriate that we should recall De Leon's profound and prophetic "Canons" in this, the centennial year of his birth.

In these profoundly wise and supremely important revolutionary maxims, De Leon not only distilled the essence of his rich store of historical and sociological

knowledge, but he condensed, as it were, the experience and lessons of past revolutionary attempts, however premature, to institute freedom, peace and equity among men. To ignore them, to flout them, would be as foolish and wicked as deliberately to ignore storm warnings and fire-alarms. Only at its gravest peril may the revolutionary working class disregard them. For to disregard them, to hold them indefinitely in contempt, is to render disaster inevitable—complete and irretrievable disaster, the blasting of men's hopes for a free, just and rational society. Not forever may the fatuous and unthinking hope to be relieved of the duty and responsibility to make the decisions that must remove the revolutionary class from the moorings of past errors and superstitions. For though man may for a while prefer to suffer evils rather than risk the unknown and untried, the imperatives of history and socioeconomic laws will presently leave him no alternative. The dictates of history are: forward to universal freedom, peace and affluence, or backward to the dark night of unmitigated slavery and static barbarism.

Capitalism, as must become increasingly self-evident to the dull-est thinker, is fast cracking up, and all the vested interests and their defenders, all the evil forces of a corrupt and disintegrating society, are feverishly at work to prostitute the rebelling workers—to narcotize them, to debauch them, to mislead them, and to turn them into submissive victims of the Caesarean aspirants whose



shadows loom so menacingly before us.

The Socialist Labor Party has its task cut out for it. We have stood firm in the past, and if we continue to cleave to principles (as surely we shall) and heed the powerful voice of De Leonism, we shall continue to hold fast, and forge ahead. Our work is arduous, our enemies are legion, and as cunning and unscrupulous as desperadoes forced against a wall. We cannot boast of success in the quantitative sense—of tangible and visible results we can point to relatively few. But we spurn the "easy way" of the reformers and the adventurers, even though our unpromising posture slows our progress. We know that it is better by far to plant the seed of De Leonist (Marxist) knowledge in the minds of ten workers than to stir to futile and disastrous rebellion ten thousand unorganized or disorganized workers. We need not exert ourselves to create discontent among the workers—capitalism does a far better job in this respect than we could ever hope to do. Our task is to demonstrate to the workers the cause of their discontent, and to point the way out for them—the intelligent, the class-conscious, the *organized* way out. This is slow and undramatic work, requiring infinite patience and perseverance. But it is essential work, and the only work that counts in the long run.

It would be pleasant if we could record that every member of this our De Leonist "spartan band" had exerted himself or herself fully in these endeavors during the past

few years of upheavals and stormy discontent. But regretfully it must be acknowledged that such has not been the case. The Party as a whole has persevered, and, in the face of the tremendous obstacles, the apathy of the workers, and the non-cooperation of many members, we may collectively feel justly proud of what *has* been accomplished since the twenty-second national convention of the Party. Yet, it is painful to reflect how much more *could* have been done, how much better off we *would be* today if every able-bodied member had cooperated as fully as did those who took, and take, their membership obligations seriously, those tireless comrades—deadly in earnest—who spurn trivia, and devote themselves single-mindedly to "the one thing needful."

Members of the S.L.P. join the Party voluntarily; they remain members of their own free will, and on one condition only: that they accept, and live up to, the principles and requirements of the Party. Living up to the principles means that they have no divided loyalties, that in full individual integrity they do not compromise their principles nor their better selves; that they adhere to the maxim: To thine own self be true, and it follows that thou canst not then be false to any man—nor recreant to organizational responsibilities. The times, the man-size issues, command: Be all, or be nothing. Not for long, certainly not indefinitely, can there be toleration of half-hearted efforts, any more than there can be toleration of half-measures in the rev-

olutionary cause. Time was when practically every S.L.P. member was possessed of a crusading spirit that swept all obstacles before it—when duty to the cause of working class emancipation came before everything else. It is not contended that this crusading spirit has departed—far from it. But much more of it should be in evidence.

Pathetically enough, we witness such a crusading spirit in such fundamentally wrong and futile movements as "Jehovah's Witnesses," and among such freak outfits as the Trotskyists—yes, even among the Stalinist robots, at least in countries where they are still at the "missionary" stage. Shall it be said that otherwise devoted and scientific-minded De Leonists have less of that crusading spirit than the superstitious religionists or the mindless followers of Stalin and Trotsky? Perish the thought! The mindless Stalinist robots exert themselves tirelessly, but mechanically. They are not allowed to think for themselves, they obey orders blindly. And they obey, not out of conviction or understanding, but under stress of emotionalism and the fatuous worship of "lead-

ers"—"fuehrers." But though emotionalism may drive its victims to frantic and hysterical activity, in complete disregard of self, it soon leaves its victims burnt out, self-consumed.

Surely, convictions born of knowledge and understanding, of mature thinking, should impel the sound and well-balanced revolutionist to act in the cause of Marxism with a fervor no less intense than that which, in the cause of reaction and slavery, consumes the victims of superstition and powdered drunk fuehrers. The S.L.P. does not demand of its members that they become monomaniacs, or that they live the lives of ascetic monks. The S.L.P. *does* demand that members share burdens and responsibilities with one another, fully and equally, and that there be no toleration of chronic laggards or "free riders." If we are really convinced of the soundness of our program and principles, it becomes indeed an unalloyed pleasure to give them life and substance. For no true man or woman can feel happy or free who leads a half life, or a life at war with his better and nobler nature.

#### GENERAL ACITATION

The foregoing observations have been induced by the fact that, as initiated before, during the past few years (and especially during the past year) S.L.P. activities have fallen to an alarming low. In part, of course, this may be ascribed to circumstances which have temporarily proved too formidable for even the greatest determination. Yet this is only in part the cause of the decline. For it must remain forever true that in the Socialist movement the greater the obstacles, the stronger the will and the greater the determination to overcome them. While it may be said that relatively (that is, relative to the increased problems and difficulties) the membership has exerted itself as much as before, this does not take account of the truism that increased difficulties demand increased devotion and efforts. It leaves untouched the tragic



fact that far too many members have failed in their most elementary duties.

The campaign that lies before us will demand of every member the utmost that he or she can give in service and financial support. Anything less than that will place our entire campaign (and ultimately our entire movement) in the gravest jeopardy. He who has given but little to the movement in the past, must give much more; he who has given adequately, should give still more; and he who has given much, will be expected to give even beyond that. As De Leon once said:

"Ah, you little understand this movement! The more that is done for it, the more it demands. Indeed, it gauges its expectations by past works. The having rendered good services to it is looked upon by it simply as an earnest of further services to be rendered, and which it imperiously demands. It has been so with all such movements. And it is right that it is so. Nothing [that is] done is more than a duty performed."

No sincere S.L.P. man, no devoted militant in the Marxian Socialist movement, makes sacrifices for the cause. Whatever is done for it is but restitution—obligations fulfilled are simply repayments made to the immortal cause to which every one of us is a debtor.

But now let us proceed to a review of activities and results during the past year, and a consideration of plans for the future.

(A)

### Organizers on the Road

During the year 1951 four comrades were toured as national organizers over periods of varying length: John P. Quinn, Joseph Pirincin, Alex Merson and Herbert Steiner.

*Comrade Quinn* came north from Florida to attend the N.E.C. Session and the WEEKLY PEOPLE 60th anniversary banquet, at which he functioned as master of ceremonies. En route north he visited a number of contacts with but indifferent results, despite rather strenuous exertion and wearisome efforts. Some time after the N.E.C. Session (and following a visit to his home town, Springfield, Mass.) he toured upstate New York, visiting several Sections in the area. He succeeded in reconstituting the Section in Utica, which had lapsed a few years before, as Section Oneida County.

From the beginning of July through mid-September (10 weeks) *Comrade Quinn* was stationed in New York City, where he engaged chiefly in intensive contact work under the immediate direction of the three Greater New York Sections. On the whole this effort proved quite successful, despite the incidental disappointments inescapably associated with this kind of work. It was hard work, requiring considerable physical exertion—climbing stairs, often to find no one home, or the contact not interested, and (when lucky) engaging in discussions and arguments, and so on. Many of these visits resulted in the sale of literature and subscriptions. In some instances the reception was most cordial, as for instance when one couple insisted on *Comrade Quinn's* having dinner with them! This ten-weeks' assignment concluded with a membership meeting, with most members from the three Sections attending. It was a most successful meeting, the members leaving

it inspired to follow up the work with increased determination.

From September 17 through November 15 *Comrade Quinn* toured the New England states, specifically Massachusetts and Connecticut. The last mentioned state was particularly in need of an organizer's presence, and while some good was accomplished, on the whole, through no fault of *Comrade Quinn's*, the situation in the state was not greatly improved.

He interrupted the New England tour in order to serve as fraternal delegate to the Canadian S.L.P. N.E.C. Session held in Toronto, October 6-7.

From November 20 through December 18 he again visited upstate New York, with special attention to the Sections in the capital district (Troy, Schenectady, Amsterdam, etc.), and to Buffalo and the adjacent area in western New York.

From Buffalo he proceeded to Detroit to attend the annual Bulgarian S.L.P. Convention as the Party's fraternal delegate. Returning east he arrived in New York City around New Year's, leaving shortly thereafter for Florida where he continued his activities in and around Miami, doing contact work, conducting a study class, and arranging gatherings of members and sympathizers, etc., etc. There are good prospects of organizing a Section with its "home base" in Miami, and it had been hoped that one would have been organized by this time. Although there are enough members in and around Miami to constitute a Section, *Comrade Quinn* felt that the circumstances were not quite propitious for starting one, and it was decided to await the results of the Study Class.

*Comrade Quinn* submitted the following summary of his activities, with comments on the general situation:

"Last summer, in addition to a one-month tour of upstate New York cities where we have Sections, I spent over two months on Party activities in New York City. Most of my time on the tour was spent in calling on contacts in an effort to increase their interest and understanding of the S.L.P. program. On the whole, I believe, this particular type of work was quite successful. A number of new readers were secured for the WEEKLY PEOPLE and a considerable number of contacts were brought a little closer to the Party.

"In the New York City area I talked to a total of 156 persons in their homes and found some 81 of them—a little better than one in every two called on—to be very much impressed with the S.L.P. program. That, I think, is an encouraging percentage. It indicates what can be accomplished by this sort of activity. Usually the person talked to had previously received one of our leaflets, a reading of which created a desire in him to know more about what we seek to accomplish.

"To the extent that we distribute leaflets, to just that extent will we find more and more individuals who will be willing to listen to an explanation of Socialism. The message our leaflets contain has a strong appeal for increasing numbers of workers. Most workers today are worried about conditions. They view the future with uncertainty and are dissatisfied with the present. Confused, frustrated and misled, increasing numbers of them are wondering about the cause of wars, depressions and a sagging standard



of living. A desire to improve their present circumstances and to safeguard their future, coupled with a deepening distrust of capitalism that verges on contempt for much of it, is producing a social discontent that one day will overwhelm it. Under such conditions, increased Party activity, and especially a wider distribution of leaflets, is vitally needed. But in place of that, there are, unhappily, all too few members and sympathizers who take part in this tremendously important activity.

"In the Albany area, and in Syracuse, Rochester, Jamestown and Buffalo, where I spent a month, the work consisted mostly of calling at the homes of Party contacts. In several places, however, hall lectures were also held, and were unusually successful. That was notably true of those held in Utica and Jamestown.

"The contact work in upstate Sections was not as successful as that in New York City. That is to be attributed largely to the fact that not many leaflets have been distributed in these cities. With the exception of Sections Erie and Genesee Counties, there seems to have been a lull in Party activities, notably in leaflet distribution. Full-time employment, night work, or over-time work make it difficult for many members to do Party work. Television, radio programs with a comfortable lounging seat after a hard day's work, or weekend vacations away from home, prevent others from helping. Some few other members seem to be lulled into a feeling of complacency by the thought that economic conditions will ultimately force workers seeking a solution to their problems in the direction of the S.L.P. That is a comforting feeling, but anything but a safe one to rely on. Other members seem influenced by the assumption that little or nothing in the way of agitation can be accomplished under present conditions.

"These members, regardless of the reason for their inactivity, don't seem to realize that declining activity can, if long continued, lead to no activity, with deterioration and disintegration of the revolutionary movement as a final consequence. We can't sit back waiting until the inevitable depression forces workers to seek a solution to the labor question, and, at the same time, provides us with the leisure and energy to present our program to the then aroused workers. That time and condition are surely coming. But what about the organization and the program in the meantime if most of us sit back and do little or nothing to advance both?

"A fighting organization must be maintained ever ready for the time when the working class becomes revolutionary. Moreover, the organization must, on pain of disintegration, always be actively seeking to get our message to those workers who awaken ahead of the mass, or who by the appeal of our principles can be shaken out of their social slumber. Otherwise, when at last the working class realizes that capitalism is enslaving it, there will be no fighting organization or emancipating program with which to guide the workers to Socialism. While most of our members are well aware of all this, there are, nevertheless, all too many of them who seem to be bludgeoned into a degree of complacency and inactivity by prevailing 'prosperity'.

"It is true that the future belongs to revolutionary Socialism, but only if the working class organizes to make it so. And to make sure that workers

will do that, revolutionists must march into that future, actively seeking and taking advantage of increasing opportunities for advancing our cause. The path of that future starts in the present! Moreover, to be aware of the great need for the social reorganization of society and yet to neglect helping in the work of making the working class aware of its historic mission, is but to drift apathetically with the tide, and, by that inaction, to assist the forces moving in the direction of a catastrophic plunge into the roaring stream of social reaction.

"Only the working class through political and industrial organization, combined with sound working class education, can achieve the goal of Socialism. The help of every member is needed in this gigantic task. Let each of us, then, see to it that we do our full share in the task of preparing workers for the inauguration of the Industrial Republic of Labor!

[signed] "John P. Quinn."

During the period of his activities (since the 1951 N.E.C. Session), Comrade Quinn's reports showed the following receipts: Collections \$455.50; Labor News sales \$18.05; WEEKLY PEOPLE subscriptions \$105. His total expenses (including wages) were approximately \$3,350.

Comrade Pirincin worked intermittently during the past year, being chiefly engaged in radio broadcasting, with occasional visits to Midwestern states. During a great part of the year he worked part time (2 or 3 days a week) for the South Slavonian S.L.P., assisting Comrade L. Petrovich on *Radnicka Borba*, as Comrade Petrovich's health was such that he could not conduct the office alone. The situation was aggravated when his assistant, Comrade S. Crnovic, suddenly and without previous notice deserted his post and returned to California, where he promptly left the jurisdiction of the South Slavonian S.L.P., transferring to Section Los Angeles. This made it imperative that Comrade Pirincin devote more time to *Radnicka Borba* work. His formal National Office employment had terminated at the end of September. Though not on the Party payroll he continued to prepare radio scripts, arrangements having been made previously for a series of WEEKLY PEOPLE Newscasts over Station WDOK (Cleveland) and WABY (Albany).

During the early summer months Comrade Pirincin made weekend trips to, or filled special speaking engagements in, Chicago, Milwaukee, Buffalo, Evansville, Gary (where he also served as fraternal delegate at the Indiana State Convention), Akron, Ann Arbor and Pittsburgh. These activities covered the months of May and June.

Having been assigned to assist our Wisconsin and Minnesota comrades in conducting the Party's booths at fairs in these states, he spent about one week (August 16-23) in Wisconsin, and about three weeks (August 24-September 16) in Minnesota. Our participation in both state fairs yielded satisfactory results, especially the Minnesota fair. Comrade Alex Merson aided in both states. In Minnesota Comrade Pirincin also assisted at the state convention (September 16), having been appointed fraternal delegate from the National Organization. Several Sections in Minnesota were also visited by him.



On his return trip he again visited Milwaukee (September 20-23), serving as fraternal delegate to the Wisconsin state convention, and Chicago (September 27-28) and, as already stated, terminated his National Office employment upon his arrival in Cleveland, his home town.

Beginning January, 1952, he resumed National Office part-time employment on a basis of three days a week (three days being devoted to *Radnicka Borba* work), and continued his preparation of WEEKLY PEOPLE radio newscasts. (These, incidentally, he has prepared without interruption since February, 1951.) The Minnesota state organization had contracted for a series of WEEKLY PEOPLE newscasts with Station WTCN, Minneapolis, and scripts for these were mailed to the station regularly by Comrade Pirincin. Without prior notice the station canceled the contract about February 8. The details in this connection are dealt with under another head.

From February 18 through March 10 Comrade Pirincin was stationed in Pittsburgh, where he was placed in charge of gathering signatures to place the Party's ticket on the ballot in Pennsylvania. He also served as fraternal delegate to the state convention. Having successfully concluded the assignment, he returned to Cleveland. In the meantime the turning out of radio scripts (primarily for the continuing WDOK, Cleveland, series) proceeded without interruption. In addition, he accepted the following assignments as fraternal delegate: The Illinois state convention, March 29-30; Ohio state convention, April 5-6; and Canadian S.L.P. convention (Toronto), April 12-13.

In a brief summary of his activities for the year, Comrade Pirincin reveals that he submitted 35 weekly reports covering a total of 149 working days, approximately 100 days having been devoted to assisting the editor of *Radnicka Borba*. Activities covered eight states. The following statistics complete the summary of activities: "Indoor lectures, 30; outdoor lectures, 4; study class sessions, 4; membership meetings, 5; state fair booths, 2; contacts visited, 21. Leaflets distributed: personally distributed about 11,000. Organized and participated in the distribution of about 100,000 leaflets, including distributions at the Wisconsin and Minnesota fairs. Radio talks: Two half-hour convention talks (Ohio and Minnesota); Ohio talk over two-station hook-up. WEEKLY PEOPLE News Reviews: First news review was delivered over WDOK, Cleveland, February 23, 1951. To date I have prepared 60 news reviews in as many weeks, with a total of 143 news reviews over the following stations: WABY (Albany, N. Y.) 26; WROK (Rockford, Ill.) 13; WDSM (Duluth, Minn.) 13; WCUE (Akron, O.) 13; WMCK (McKeesport, Pa.) 13; WDOK (Cleveland, O.) 60; WTCN (Minneapolis-St. Paul) 5. Of these 143 broadcasts I delivered 116 either in person or by transcription."

Comrade Pirincin's reports reveal that he collected money representing the following: Collections, \$330.12; WEEKLY PEOPLE subscriptions, \$7.50. His total expenses (including wages) were approximately \$2,925.

Comrade Merson continued his work in the Seattle area through August 14, 1951 (except for a period of about two weeks—July 1-12—when he visited Portland, Ore., and Vancouver, Wash.) During the period of March

1-May 13, he was on half-time pay, having otherwise been employed full time. His activities included contact work, conducting a study class, delivering a few public lectures, street sale of pamphlets, arranging and carrying out regular mailings of WEEKLY PEOPLE, followed up by personal visits (resulting in securing a number of subscriptions), and leaflet distribution, with emphasis on the last mentioned. This work he has carried on diligently and quite effectively. In one of his reports he made this observation:

"I'm not trying to pin any laurels on myself, but I'm getting to be a familiar figure on the streets of Seattle with leaflet distribution. I have a number of steady customers who look for 'different' leaflets, who tell me they read a particular leaflet, etc. To get these fellows to come to our study class is another story."

Upon Comrade Steiner's arrival in Seattle last summer Comrade Merson worked in close cooperation with him, partly so that he might benefit through the experience of our more seasoned California organizer. (He did the same in Minnesota and Wisconsin with Comrade Pirincin, no doubt with profit to himself.)

After completing his work in connection with the Wisconsin and Minnesota state fairs, Comrade Merson was toured a few weeks in the Midwest, the intention being to return him to Seattle about mid-November. However, the Illinois S.E.C. requested his presence in Chicago for intensive leaflet distribution. Starting in Chicago November 20, he remained there for about three weeks. From December 10 through December 16 he revisited Gary, St. Joseph and Fort Wayne, Ind. Meanwhile the Michigan S.E.C. requested the National Office to send him to Michigan to assist with signature gathering. This was agreed to, but immediately prior to going into Michigan he paid a return visit to Chicago for a period of ten days.

Shortly after Christmas he left for Detroit, spending a few days conferring with the comrades about his signature gathering assignment. Our Michigan comrades gave him unstinted praise for the excellent work he did. Next he went to Pennsylvania to assist the S.E.C. and Comrade Pirincin in connection with the ballot problem there, again rendering excellent service. Completing his work in Pennsylvania, he spent about ten days in Cleveland, doing contact work. As of this writing he is working his way back to Washington, where he is due about mid-April, meanwhile making stops in Indiana, at St. Louis, Kansas City, Mo., Denver, and possibly one or two more places.

While engaged in leaflet distribution, Comrade Merson was occasionally interfered with by the police, but on the whole he met with little opposition. It is a pleasure to be able to say that he has improved very considerably during the last year or two, and is now on the whole doing excellent work, and doing it conscientiously. He is still lacking in "finish" as a public speaker, but there are signs of improvement in this respect also. Above all, he attends to business, and seems to be able to work harmoniously with the comrades wherever he goes.

The following statistics are gleaned from Comrade Merson's reports: (May 5-December 15, 1951, inclusive): Leaflets distributed, 123,000; contacts visited, 375; interviews obtained, 144; subscriptions secured, 33 (19 for



one year, 14 for 6 months); literature sold, \$32.15; WEEKLY PEOPLE sold, \$25; meetings held, 3; collections taken, \$33.15; letters sent to the press, 14; published, 6. His total expenses (including wages) came to approximately \$2,700.

*Comrade Herbert Steiner* was "loaned" to the National Office by the California S.E.C. for a tour in the northern Pacific Coast states. Comrade Steiner was toured by the California S.E.C. in his home state for 32 weeks in 1951, with excellent results reported. He toured the states of Oregon and Washington for the National Office for a period of approximately 7 weeks, beginning July 19. He was accompanied and ably assisted by his comrade wife, Jean, an efficient and devoted S.L.P. woman. From July 19 through August 14 he covered Seattle, Everett, Tacoma and Grays Harbor, addressing meetings, engaging in contact work, leaflet distribution, etc. From August 16 through August 31 he worked the Astoria-Portland and nearby Vancouver, Wash., field. Statistics gathered from his reports reveal the following:

Lectures, 8; literature sales, \$13.80; WEEKLY PEOPLE sales, \$.85; street sales of literature, \$5.30; leaflets distributed (with the aid of comrades), 18,150; contacts called on, 122; interviews obtained, 22; literature sales to contacts, \$4.05; subscriptions secured, 9 (4 for one year, 5 for six months). Collections taken up and turned over to Comrade Steiner amounted to \$136.61. His expenses (including wages) came to approximately \$730 for the seven weeks.

The need for touring more qualified organizers is self-evident, but even if more had been available it is doubtful that we could afford it. The cost of touring national organizers (particularly if they must stop at hotels) has mounted greatly during the last couple of years. During the coming campaign months, however, it is hoped that we may be able to secure and keep several more in the field. Arrangements have been made to secure the services of Comrade Dallas Reynolds, beginning in May. His chief task, however, will be that of taking care of our ballot problems in a number of states, mainly in the East and Midwest. He proved himself quite proficient in this respect in 1948.

### (B) Leaflet Distribution

There was a great drop in distribution of leaflets during 1951, as compared with the preceding year. In 1950 a total of 2,315,645 were distributed. The figure for 1951 was 1,117,232, or less than one-half of 1950 distribution. This poor showing reflects the general picture of greatly reduced all-around activity. Further comments at this time seem useless—let the figures speak for themselves. By states the distribution was as follows:

|                   |         |                     |        |
|-------------------|---------|---------------------|--------|
| California .....  | 253,508 | Indiana .....       | 36,738 |
| Colorado .....    | 1,500   | Massachusetts ..... | 23,628 |
| Connecticut ..... | 9,100   | Michigan .....      | 95,191 |
| Illinois .....    | 95,730  | Minnesota .....     | 30,800 |
|                   |         | Missouri .....      | 19,436 |

|                    |         |                     |                 |
|--------------------|---------|---------------------|-----------------|
| New Jersey .....   | 46,300  | Washington .....    | 89,110          |
| New York .....     | 233,860 | Wisconsin .....     | 14,100          |
| Ohio .....         | 42,900  | Miscellaneous ..... | 47,835          |
| Oregon .....       | 12,250  |                     |                 |
| Pennsylvania ..... | 65,246  |                     |                 |
|                    |         |                     | <hr/> 1,117,232 |

California retains the honor of having distributed the largest quantity, though it was nearly 100,000 less than in the preceding year. New York was second with a total of 233,860, which was about 35,000 less than in 1950. Illinois was third with about 96,000, about the same as in 1950. Michigan was fourth with about 95,000, which was almost 100,000 less than the 1950 figure. Washington was fifth with about 89,000—12,000 less than in 1950. It should be noted that of the total Comrade A. Merson (as national organizer) distributed more than 61,000 in Seattle. (In other states visited by him Comrade Merson helped to boost the total for these states, including Illinois and Indiana.)

Among the Sections, Los Angeles tops the list with 161,605, Section New York being second with 137,160. Section Cook Co. is third with 82,810 (including Merson distribution); San Francisco fourth with 78,300, and Section Wayne Co. (Detroit) fifth with 75,291. Relative to its membership strength, Section Erie, Pa., is outstanding, having distributed 20,000, largely by our veteran Comrade Frank Knotek. Section Philadelphia distributed 38,400; Section Kings Co. 37,850, and Section Cleveland 31,100. Section Tacoma distributed 21,300, and Sections Essex Co., N. J., and Erie, Pa., 20,000 each. All the rest fell below 20,000.

The following quantities were distributed by national organizers, State Committees, members-at-large, and sympathizers:

| <i>By whom distributed</i>               | <i>Where distributed</i>            | <i>Quantity</i> |
|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Alex Merson .....                        | Washington, Indiana, Illinois, etc. | 123,100         |
| Herbert and Jean Steiner .....           | Washington and Oregon .....         | 19,225          |
| A. Tueling, B. Perry and F. Girard ..... | Muskegon, Mich. ....                | 12,000          |
| G. Bopp Jr. and H. Johnson .....         | New Jersey .....                    | 8,550           |
| Gordon Long .....                        | Kentucky .....                      | 6,000           |
| W. Friesser .....                        | Bay City, Mich. ....                | 3,500           |
| C. A. Couper .....                       | Rhode Island .....                  | 3,000           |
| R. B. Smith .....                        | California .....                    | 2,000           |

The following Sections distributed no leaflets at all (or failed to report): South Norwalk, Conn.; Washington, D. C.; St. Paul, Minn.; Rensselaer Co., N. Y.; Akron, Salem, Stark Co., Ohio; Dauphin Co., and Greensburg, Pa.

Some of the Sections registered great drops, as for example Section Wayne Co., nearly 100,000 less than the previous year; Section Philadelphia, 115,000 less; Minneapolis, 75,000 less; Boston, nearly 60,000 less; Allegheny Co., Pa., 50,000 less; etc.

The total for the four-year period (including the campaign year of 1948) was 10,008,386. This multi-million figure is an impressive one—more than



ten million S.I.P. seeds sown during this comparatively short period. And though many of the seeds fell on barren soil, and others fell among thorns where they were choked, many fell on good ground, there to germinate and sprout in good social season.

### (C) Pamphlet Distribution ("P") Days

Again in 1951 an attempt was made to stimulate the sale of Party pamphlets during specially designated days, the so-called "P-days." The first trial had been made the year before, but due to the intensive election campaigns carried on in various states, it was not the success we felt it ought to have been. Accordingly, five Saturdays were set aside to push the Party's literature by offering it for sale on the streets and from house to house. It was far from an unqualified success, but it *was* demonstrated that wherever the membership participated actively, the effort was attended by gratifying success.

The five Saturdays chosen last year were September 29 and October 6, 13, 20 and 27, and the following pamphlets were chosen to make up "sets" of four, at the special price of 25 cents: "The Americanism of Socialism" (5¢), "What is Socialism?" (5¢), "War—Why?" (15¢), and "Socialist Freedom or Capitalist Serfdom" (5¢). The regular discount was allowed where ten or more sets were ordered.

Seventeen Sections ordered pamphlets especially for "P-days" in 1951, as against fifteen that did so in 1950. In addition, eleven Sections reported street sales of pamphlets, taking the pamphlets from their own stocks, or ordering them in the usual way rather than on the special "P-days" order form supplied to the Subdivisions. Following are the Sections which reported street sales of pamphlets and/or ordered special "P-days" literature (Sections using their own stocks indicated by an asterisk):

| Sections                | No. of sets ordered | Other Pamphlets ordered | Sales        |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| Los Angeles, Calif. *   | —                   | —                       | \$130.84     |
| Oakland, Calif.         | —                   | 220                     | 2.30         |
| San Francisco, Calif. * | —                   | —                       | 35.05        |
| Bridgeport, Conn.       | —                   | 40                      | (no reports) |
| New Haven, Conn.        | 10                  | —                       | 31.27        |
| Cook Co., Ill.          | —                   | —                       | 5.70         |
| St. Clair Co., Ill.     | 12                  | —                       | (no reports) |
| Ft. Wayne, Ind. *       | —                   | —                       | 1.55         |
| St. Joseph Co., Ind.    | —                   | —                       | (no reports) |
| Boston, Mass.           | 10                  | 35                      | 4.75         |
| Wayne Co., Mich. *      | —                   | 110                     | 1.05         |
| Minneapolis, Minn.      | 10                  | —                       | 1.75         |
| St. Louis, Mo. *        | —                   | —                       | 12.40        |
| Cumberland Co., N.J.    | 20                  | 16                      | (no reports) |

|                      |    |     |              |
|----------------------|----|-----|--------------|
| Essex Co., N.J.      | 24 | —   | (no reports) |
| Kings Co., N.Y. *    | —  | —   | 4.25         |
| Monroe Co., N.Y. *   | —  | —   | 16.95        |
| Montgomery Co., N.Y. | 25 | —   | (no reports) |
| New York, N.Y.       | 25 | 100 | (no reports) |
| Oneida Co., N.Y.     | 10 | 40  | (no reports) |
| Akron, O.            | 10 | —   | (no reports) |
| Cleveland, O.        | 10 | —   | 3.25         |
| Steubenville, O. *   | —  | —   | 4.25         |
| Astoria, Ore. *      | —  | —   | .80          |
| Portland, Ore.       | 20 | 30  | 4.70         |
| Seattle, Wash. *     | —  | —   | 1.25         |
| Tacoma, Wash.        | —  | 60  | 22.80        |
| Milwaukee, Wis.      | —  | 226 | (no reports) |

|         |             |                                   |          |
|---------|-------------|-----------------------------------|----------|
| Totals: | 28 Sections | 186 sets (744 pamphlets) plus 917 | \$284.91 |
| 1950:   | 15 Sections | 1,400 pamphlets                   | \$ 78.80 |
| 1951:   | 28 Sections | 1,661 pamphlets                   | 284.91   |

Comparative figures, 1950 and 1951:

To summarize, 28 Sections ordered 186 sets (744 pamphlets), and in addition 917 other pamphlets. The total cash sales came to \$284.91. This compares favorably with 1950, when total cash sales of only \$78.80 were recorded.

That this collective, coordinated effort to sell the Party's literature holds great promise for the future seems self-evident. These perennial efforts should not be limited to the particular days designated. Section Los Angeles reports street sales in every month of the year. What that hustling Section can do every other Section can do—if the members likewise "hustle." It is a question whether "P-days" can be launched this year, considering the many other activities that demand the time and efforts of the membership—especially the urgency of leaflet distribution—but undoubtedly the effort will again be made in 1953, and every year thereafter.

### (D) Radio

During 1951 a total of 143 broadcasts were arranged, including one 5-minute telecast. There were two broadcasts of 30 minutes each, sixteen of 15 minutes, six of 7½ minutes, seventy-three (in six series) of 15 minutes, and forty-five (WDOK series) of 15 minutes each. Since the beginning of the current year 33 broadcasts were arranged, including 30 news review series. There were two broadcasts of 30 minutes each, and one of 15 minutes duration. Of the thirty 15-minute newscast series, five were released over WTCN, Minneapolis, five over WABY, Albany, and twenty (when completed May 19, 1952) over WDOK, Cleveland.

The WEEKLY PEOPLE newscasts are still more or less in the "experi-



mental" stage — that is, there is still some doubt as to their efficacy as compared with regular broadcasts. At times the response has been gratifying, at other times disappointing. Comrade Joseph Pirincin deserves special credit for the effort and energy he has devoted to these newscasts, and for his efficient handling of them from Cleveland.

The preparing of WEEKLY PEOPLE newscasts presents somewhat of a problem, for to justify the classification "newscasts" they must deal largely with what radio stations consider "news," and to present "news" from the S.L.P. without invoking the Party's educational propaganda is, if course, impossible. The problem is to effect a reasonable subordination of the Party's program to the news value of the matter presented. That, incidentally, is also one of the weaknesses of "newscasting."

On the whole, Comrade Pirincin has been singularly successful in this respect, though there have been demurrers by radio stations from time to time, and one violent objection by one station, WTCN, Minneapolis, which canceled the contract for a series of talks after five had been broadcast. The station contended that the matter presented did not constitute "newscasting," but propaganda, and (from their viewpoint) undesirable and offensive propaganda. But more of this later.

The complete list of the broadcasts in 1951 (and through April 1952) follows:

*Connecticut:*

New Haven, WELL, J. P. Quinn, Oct. 27, '51, 1, 15 min.

*Illinois:*

Rockford, WRCK, J. Pirincin (transcriptions), Sept. 24-Dec. 17, '51, 13\*\* , 15 min. each.

*Massachusetts:*

Boston, WCOP, J. P. Quinn, Sept. 28, '51, 1, 15 min.

Lynn, WLYN, J. P. Quinn, Oct. 13, '51, 1, 15 min.

Waltham, WCRB, J. P. Quinn, Sept. 23, '51, 1, 15 min.

*Michigan:*

Detroit, WWJ, J. Sim, March 30, '51, 1, 15 min.

*Minnesota:*

Duluth, WDSM, J. Pirincin (transcriptions), Sept. 10-Dec. 3, '51, 13\*\* , 15 min. each.

Minneapolis, WTCN, J. Pirincin, Sept. 16, '51, 1, 30 min. WTCN, J. Pirincin (transcriptions), Jan. 7-Feb. 4, '52, 5, \*\* 15 min. each.

Winona, KWNO, J. Pirincin, Sept. 13, '51, 1, 15 min.

*New York:*

Albany, WABY, D. Bickweat, Feb. 25-May 20, '51, 13, \*\* 15 min. each. WABY, D. Bickweat, Nov. 11, '51-Feb. 3, '52, 13, \*\* 15 min. each.

New York City, WMCA, E. Hass, Sept. 21-Oct. 19, '51, 5, 15 min. each. WNEW, Studio Announcers, Oct. 18, 19, 22, 29, 30, Nov. 1, '51, 6; 7½ min. each (free).

(Newark, N.J.), WATT, L. D. Cohen, Dec. 13, '51, 1, 15 min.  
WOR-TV, E. Hass, Nov. 5, 1951, 1, 5 min.

Utica, WCAT, J. P. Quinn, Nov. 27, '51, 1, 15 min.

*Ohio:*

Akron-Cleveland, WHKK-WHK, J. Pirincin, April 1, '51, 1, 30 min.

Akron, WCUE, J. Pirincin (transcriptions), May 25-Aug. 17, '51, 13, \*\* 15 min. each. WHKK, J. Pirincin, April 6, '52, 1, 30 min.

Cleveland, WDOK, J. Pirincin, Feb. 23, '51-May 19, '52, 65, \*\* 15 min. each.

WDOCK, J. Pirincin, April 6, '52, 1, 30 min.

Steubenville, WSTV, J. Pirincin, March 23, '52, 1, 15 min.

*Oregon:*

Portland, KXL, H. Steiner, Aug. 28, '51, 1, 15 min.

*Pennsylvania:*

McKeesport, WMCK, J. Pirincin (transcriptions), May 18-Aug. 10, '51, 13, \*\* 15 min. each.

*Washington:*

Everett, KRKO, H. Steiner, Aug. 2, '51, 1, 15 min.

*Wisconsin:*

Milwaukee, WMAW, J. Pirincin, April 27, '51, 1, 15 min.

\*\*W. P. News Review Series

During the year we experienced the usual objections and obstructionism by the thoroughly classconscious managements of radio stations. Chafing under the obligations imposed upon them by F.C.C. rules and regulations, radio stations generally look for all sorts of excuses to deny the facilities of the airwaves to us. The following are some of the notable instances:

*Station WHBC, Canton, O.:*

As reported to the N.E.C. at its May 1951 Session, Radio Station WHBC had refused to release one of our scripts for reasons we regarded as improper. It will be recalled that the station refused to sell time to the Ohio S.E.C. for broadcasts by our state candidates on the ground that they were not on the ballot and also because the Ohio election laws do not provide for "write-in" voting. We protested vigorously to the F.C.C., recalling to them their ruling in 1944 with regard to our complaint against Station WJW, Cleveland. In the present case the F.C.C., in effect, reversed itself, ruling that unless provision is made in a state's election laws for a "write-in" vote, candidates conducting such campaigns are not entitled to equal treatment as regards obtaining radio time.

It was pointed out to the F.C.C. that such a ruling meant that the commission had entered into a consideration of constitutional matters, whereas we held that for the commission's purpose the deciding factor should be whether or not our candidates were in fact the candidates of a bona fide political party, whether they were actually conducting campaigns, etc., regardless of whether the election officials ignored their clear duty to count all votes cast for a candidate. As stated, our protests were in vain and Station WHBC was held to have been within its rights in refusing to sell us time. A letter was then directed to the F.C.C. requesting information



as to the effect of its ruling in the case of national candidates. The reply was to the effect that this would require separate consideration if and when the question arose.

It should be noted that the ruling in the WHBC case clearly implies that where write-in voting is possible, and where we carry on a write-in campaign, our candidates *are* entitled to equal treatment with all other candidates as regards radio and television time, just as the commission ruled in 1944.

#### *Station WOR-TV, New York, N.Y.:*

Another case occurred in connection with the write-in vote campaign conducted by the Sections in Greater New York in the 1951 special municipal election to fill the office of President of the City Council. Station WOR-TV (the New York TV station of the Mutual Broadcasting System, in our experience the most reactionary and discriminatory of the networks) announced a program on which all the candidates for the office were to appear. Since we had not been invited to send our candidate, we immediately contacted the station by phone and were met with a curt refusal, given in the usual offensive manner. To place the matter on record, a telegram was sent to the station, followed by a letter. The program was telecast as scheduled (without our candidate) and promptly thereafter a telegram and detailed letter were sent to the F.C.C. After the usual delays, during which the matter was followed up with the F.C.C., we were told (by telephone) that the F.C.C. was taking the matter up with WOR-TV. Shortly thereafter we received a phone call from the station offering to have our candidate appear for a 5-minute telecast (the equivalent of the time allotted to each of the other candidates on the program on which they appeared jointly). The station attempted to "save face" by insisting that they were "not being forced" to give the time. They meant this, of course, in a strictly Pickwickian sense!

#### *Station WMCA, New York, N.Y.:*

Also in connection with the New York City campaign, a series of six campaign broadcasts was arranged on Station WMCA. When the station received the first script they objected on the ground that it was not in line with their idea of a "political broadcast." After some discussion, the broadcast went on the air with a few minor and unimportant changes. No further trouble was experienced until the sixth and final script was sent to the station. They refused to broadcast it because our candidate "doesn't talk about his qualifications for the office." No amount of argument availed, the station remaining adamant in its refusal to release the broadcast. A protest was made to the F.C.C. and we are still awaiting their long overdue reply.

#### *Station WTMJ, Milwaukee, Wis.:*

With regard to the WEEKLY PEOPLE News Review broadcasts, it will be recalled that the National Secretary reported to last year's N.E.C. Session that two Los Angeles stations had refused to sell us time for such broadcasts on the ground that all their newscasts are prepared by their own staff

and delivered by their own announcers. Since then Station WTMJ, Milwaukee, refused on the same grounds.

#### *Station WMCK, McKeesport, Pa.:*

A series of 13 News Review broadcasts was arranged on Station WMCK. After the first or second broadcast the program director of the station wrote our Pennsylvania S.E.C. that they had received a number of calls objecting to the broadcast as being "un-American," "too critical," etc., and that he would have to impose censorship on our scripts. Reply was made to the letter and, in addition, the next script included a rebuke administered to those who would try to silence ideas and opinions with which they did not agree, etc. Nothing more was heard about "censoring" our scripts, and the series continued to the end without further difficulties.

#### *Station WDOK, Cleveland, O.:*

As reported elsewhere, the News Review broadcasts in Cleveland have been going on for more than a year over WDOK. There has been only one instance reported of the station's objecting to a script, and on that occasion the objection made was to some largely unsubstantiated statements in the script concerning the quadrennial aspirant to the Presidency, Minnesota's "white hope," the reactionary and perambulating ex-Governor Harold Stassen. The changes and deletions suggested by the station were relatively minor, and as time was insufficient to check sources, etc., the script was changed and delivered as changed.

#### *Station WTCN, Minneapolis, Minn.:*

Our most serious trouble, however, was experienced with Station WTCN. A series of 13 broadcasts had been arranged over this station but (as mentioned before) after five broadcasts had been delivered (including the one dealing with Stassen), a letter was received in which we were advised that the contract had been canceled, the station invoking the clause in the contract providing for cancellation on two weeks' notice. Phone calls to the station brought vague remarks about complaints by the F.C.C. and similar excuses for the cancellation. Finally, we were referred to the Station's New York legal representatives, Fly, Shuebruk and Blume. (Ironically enough, the "Fly" proved to be James Lawrence Fly, former chairman of the F.C.C., who well remembers the S.L.P.!) A letter requesting an explanation of the cancellation was sent to the lawyers. A brief reply was received in which was quoted in full a letter that had been written by the station to a Minneapolis lady who had protested — not against our broadcast, but against our having been taken off the air! In the meantime, however, contrary to the two weeks' cancellation provision of the contract, the station refused to release any additional broadcasts, rendering it impossible for us to explain the reason for the sudden termination of the series.

This whole strange and highhanded action was now protested in a strong letter to the station in which, among other things, the station's statement to the Minneapolis lady (previously unknown to us) that they preferred



to present such controversial matters in "forum programs," to which they would gladly invite the S.L.P. to send a representative, was promptly taken up. Whereupon the station, completely ignoring the rest of the letter of protest, simply replied that they would be glad to discuss such a forum program with our representatives! Needless to say, the matter will be followed up and the censorship practiced by the station will be protested to the F.C.C., if only for the record. And, of course, the station's breach of contract in not permitting us two additional broadcasts following notice of intent to cancel will be followed up to a satisfactory conclusion, if at all possible.

(E)

### State Fairs

In 1951 two of our state organizations had display booths at their respective state fairs, namely, Wisconsin (August 18-26) and Minnesota (August 24-September 4). At the request of the Minnesota and Wisconsin comrades, the National Office assigned Comrade J. Pirincin to supervise the booths, etc., and sent Comrade A. Merson to assist him. The comrades of both states gave their wholehearted cooperation and, as a result, our participation in both state fairs was quite successful. Statistically, the results were as follows: In Wisconsin, 7,500 leaflets were taken by visitors at the booth, and 1,175 copies of "Despotism on the March"; 425 copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE were sold or given away, and 3 subscriptions were sold; approximately 350 pieces of literature were sold for a total of \$38.60; 42 "interest" cards were signed; and the TV film was shown 17 times.

In Minnesota, 21,500 leaflets and 1,300 copies of "Despotism on the March" were taken; 650 copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE sold or given away, and two subscriptions were sold; 619 pamphlets were sold, for a total of \$77; \$10 was received in contributions and 40 "interest" cards were signed.

In their jointly written report of the fairs prepared for the WEEKLY PEOPLE, Comrades Pirincin and Merson state:

"Apart from the tangible and immediate results, our experience has been tremendously encouraging. While we have known for quite some time that the hysteria created by a desperate ruling class was not nearly as successful as the ruling class hoped, it was inspiring to have that confirmed over a 19-day period by looking into the faces of thousands of workers. True, there was ample evidence of hesitation, of fear. But hostility was almost totally absent."

Both our Minnesota and Wisconsin organizations are making plans to participate in the 1952 state fairs. In this campaign year it is hoped and expected that more of our state organizations and "isolated" Sections will make an effort to secure booths and space at state fairs.

(F)

### Letters to the Press

While a few more comrades in various Sections of the country have sent letters to the press and had them published, this activity is still not receiving

the attention its importance demands. Indications are that letters in reply to those printed (or answering news articles or editorials) have the best chance of being published. With all the slanders and misrepresentations that appear daily in the capitalist press, the opportunities for answering them effectively are practically limitless. Nevertheless, the number of comrades who have the time, ability and willingness to do the job, far exceeds the few who do so.

The leader in this activity is still Comrade Frank Knotek, that grand old S.L.P. veteran in Erie, Pa. Even though the Erie newspapers cut down on the number of his letters that they published, he did succeed in having 25 printed. The space allotted to Comrade Knotek's letters came to 176 inches, a very respectable figure, but far less than the 464 inches he obtained in 1950.

Aside from the conscious effort made by the Erie newspapers (under pressure from those opposing Comrade Knotek and the S.L.P.) to cut down the number of letters by Comrade Knotek that they publish, they have also made it a special point to publish letters attacking our comrade, regardless of the silliness of these attacks and their palpable falsity and poverty of logic. Even the flimsiest arguments are given publicity in an effort to undermine the favorable impression that Comrade Knotek's letters undoubtedly make on serious-minded readers. So numerous have such letters become, and so tenuous and ridiculous are the points raised, that it would be practically impossible to answer all of them, even assuming that all such rebuttals would be published. Accordingly, Comrade Knotek has answered only a few of these misrepresentations and distortions, and only one of his answers was actually printed.

Undeterred, however, Comrade Knotek continues to send his lucid and enlightening letters to the newspapers, and a goodly number of them still find their way into print. Undoubtedly Comrade Knotek's success in this field may be attributed largely to the respect and (grudging) admiration he has inspired even among his enemies. Nevertheless, it is his persistence and his constant effort that, in part, have brought him this recognition as an honest and capable protagonist of Socialism, and the respect he has earned has undoubtedly led in turn to a more receptive attitude on the part of many of those who read his letters. We recall with pride the full-page spread devoted to "Erie's No. 1 Socialist" (as the paper put it) in the Erie *Dispatch*, Sunday, July 9, 1950, wherein the editor decently tried to answer the question—"Who is this guy 'Knotek' anyway?" explaining to the readers that "thousands of persons throughout the Erie area have asked that question," and adding that "all the letters, signed simply 'Frank Knotek, R. D. 1, McKean, Pa.' have in them the seeds of Socialism which the writer hopes to plant in the minds of the readers."

Comrade Knotek summed up his attitude toward letter-writing in a recent communication to the National Office when he said: "Regarding my letter-writing to the local press, I do only my duty, that's all."

"I DO ONLY MY DUTY, THAT'S ALL." It is as simple and elementary as that! If other comrades would recognize this "duty" and do it, the beneficial results to the Party could well reach important proportions. Surely



almost every member can adopt Comrade Knotek's method of adapting articles (or parts of them) from the WEEKLY PEOPLE and other S.L.P. literature, and sending them as letters regularly and persistently to their local papers.

Another comrade who achieved good results during the past year or so is P. C. Schein of Duluth. Comrade Schein became involved in a rather lengthy "discussion" with several different persons through the "Letter Box" of the Duluth newspapers. The result was that he succeeded in having quite a few letters published in which the Party's position was clearly and ably presented, even though editorial butchering was practiced extensively on his letters. Still another effective and persistent letter writer in Minnesota is Comrade R. V. Brandborg, whose splendidly written letters never fail to stir up the capitalist zoo in his locality.

Our new Section in Utica, N.Y. (Section Oneida County), has also "taken up its pen," so to speak, to answer slanders and misrepresentations of Socialism. During the year six letters, averaging 7 inches, were published, two of them bearing the following signature: "James Lehner, Literature Agent, Socialist Labor Party," and Comrade Lehner's address. In this way the Party's name is sure to be mentioned, and readers are given an address to which to write for further information and literature.

Some of our Sections (notably Denver, Colo., and Grays Harbor, Wash.) make it a point to send notices to the press regularly. Our Denver comrades, for instance, send in the "subject" for each week's session of the study class, and almost every Section activity report is accompanied by clippings of small items giving the time and place of the study class session, the subject, Party's name, etc. The Grays Harbor comrades are quite successful in having notices of public lectures published. These notices usually include the Party's name and sometimes give brief resumes of the lecture to be given.

This is a practice that obviously should be followed by all our Sections. Comrade Rudolph Riedl, Cassopolis, Mich., succeeded in having a series of ten articles on Socialism published in *Prosveta*, a Yugoslav "fraternal" newspaper published in English. The paper, according to Comrade Riedl, has a circulation of over 60,000, "and goes into nearly, if not all, the states of the union and Canada. Quite a few even find their way to Yugoslavia." Though the paper deleted all specific references to the Party until the last few installments, the articles were very good and gave a clear and comprehensive exposition of the Party's program and principles.

There were, of course, other cases in which our members succeeded in having letters published, or otherwise getting the Party's program into print in capitalist newspapers, etc. However, the success enjoyed by these relatively few members simply points up the fact that the great majority of our members are continuing to overlook this excellent means of agitation, though it costs no money and but little effort. Let there be vastly more of this letter-writing, soon and persistently.

A suggestion has been made in this connection which would seem to merit trial. The plan would be to write to Sections (and some isolated members) and request name and address of a member (or, for that matter,

a sympathizer) who would be willing and able to type a letter each week and mail it to a newspaper (or newspapers) in his city. Each week (or as often as possible) a brief letter would be prepared (either by the National Office or the editorial department) on a subject of current interest, yet one not likely to fade quickly from the news. Such a letter would be mimeographed and sent via air mail (depending on distance) to those agreeing to retype it promptly and mail it to a local newspaper.

There is, of course, the consideration of the extra work placed on our National Headquarters staff, but normally this should not present too much of a problem. Some thought will be given to the possibility of carrying the plan into effect.

### (G) Public Meetings

The holding of public meetings (especially outdoors) is presenting more and more of a problem to the Party. Outdoor meetings, generally speaking, seem to be becoming a thing of the past in many cities, chiefly due to traffic conditions. Yet, excellent open-air meetings can be, and have been, held in some of our large cities, at special locations, notably in New York City and Cleveland. Indoor meetings, in many cities and towns, are meeting with increasing obstacles, chiefly the unwillingness of landlords to rent their halls to Socialists. In this case, of course, the primary cause is found in the prevalent hysteria evoked by witch-hunters who profess to see a Stalinist agent in every one who disturbs their snug complacency. There has been a steady decline in the number of meetings held during the past few years. Thus in 1949 we held a total of 274 public meetings and in 1950 a total of 255, whereas in 1951 only 178 public meetings were held.

In only three cities were outdoor meetings held in 1951, with a total of 39 such meetings. Section Hampden Co. (Springfield), Mass., held one, Sections in Greater New York twenty-five, and Section Cleveland thirteen. All other Sections reported no outdoor meetings arranged during the year. Despite the difficulties referred to, it would seem that we should be able to do far better than that. This pitiful showing is, of course, but one more manifestation of the great decline in all-around activities. Where traffic conditions do not render it impossible or impracticable to hold such meetings, they *should* be held, especially where speakers are available.

A total of 138 indoor meetings were held during the past year, as contrasted with 205 such meetings in 1950. Section Oakland, Calif., tops the list with 17 indoor meetings. Section Los Angeles is second with 13 meetings, Section Wayne Co. third with 12. Sections San Francisco and Milwaukee tie with 9 each. Cook County (Chicago) follows with 8. Sections Akron and Portland, Ore., each held 7 indoor meetings. The Sections in Greater New York likewise held only 7 indoor meetings. Seattle held 6 meetings, and Sections Boston, St. Louis, Cleveland and Philadelphia, 4 each. Sections Denver and Washitaw Co. (Mich.), and Grays Harbor (Wash.) held 3 meetings each. Sections Waltham (Mass.), Cumberland Co. (N.J.), Erie



Co. (N.Y.), Dayton (O.) and Everett (Wash.), 2 each. Only one meeting was held by each of the following Sections: Lynn (Mass.), Duluth, Minneapolis, Winona (Minn.), Jamestown (N.Y.), Oneida Co. (Utica, N.Y.), Astoria (Ore.), and Tacoma (Wash.).

The rest either sent no reports on meetings, or reported no indoor meetings held. As will be observed, most Sections held no public meetings of any kind. They (or at least those not denied halls) might reflect that the mountain did not come to Mohammed—he had to go to the mountain! So must we go to the workers—we cannot expect them to come to us unless we make our presence known.

## (H) Contacts

A total of 1,011 inquiries from all sources were received in 1951 at the National Office. From our replies to these we received 214 responses with orders for subscriptions and/or literature, representing 21 per cent. In the commercial publishing business this would be regarded as far better than average. There were 236 inquiries resulting from radio broadcasts. Of this number 55 (or 23 per cent) responded, resulting in 38 subscriptions secured, and 17 sales of literature. These contacts in turn caused 35 more to write for information and literature, yielding 6 subscriptions and 3 sales of literature. A total of 22 "interested" cards were received, yielding one subscription and one literature order. Thirty-seven wrote for information on pamphlet coupons, the result being 13 subscriptions and 13 literature orders. Inquiries on leaflet coupons were received from interested persons to the number of 441, of whom 67 wrote again, yielding 37 subscriptions and 30 literature orders. From state fair participation we received 80 inquiries, resulting in 3 subscriptions and 2 literature orders. From miscellaneous sources we received 160 inquiries, bringing 50 returns, yielding 38 subscriptions and 22 literature orders.

Considering that 1,117,000 leaflets were distributed, the number of inquiries from this source (441) is relatively small indeed, though in the absolute it represents the largest returns. By contrast, the approximately 2,250,000 leaflets distributed in 1950 produced only 420 inquiries. This does not alter the fact that leaflet distribution remains the best means of adding new names to our mailing list. It should be noted that the figures given refer only to inquiries received at the National Office. Where the address for securing further information is given as other than the National Office, inquiries are, of course, received at whatever local address is given. For example, leaflets printed in California have coupons with local addresses for information.

The total number of subscriptions sold as a result of inquiries amounted to \$136.65. Of the 126 subscriptions received, 33 were for one year, 51 for six months, 37 were for three months, and 5 were trial subscriptions.

Literature orders totaled 88, with a total of 660 pamphlets sold, representing cash sales in the amount of \$68.69.

The overall total figures for 1951 were: Responses, 214 (212 in 1950); total cash sales, \$205.30 (\$144.50 in 1950).

On February 10, 1951, follow-up letters were sent to 2,258 current contacts, and again on June 13, letters were sent to 2,271 current contacts, with a copy of "Despotism on the March."

Regular subscription follow-up mailings are made periodically. Monthly letters are sent 30 days prior to expiration, again one week before expiration, once more 30 days after expiration, and finally 4 months after expiration. In April, 1951, letters were sent to 1,610 ex-subscribers, and in June, 1951, letters were sent to 1,246 ex-subscribers, with a copy of "Despotism on the March."

From the above follow-up expiration mailings (beginning with the original 2,934), we received 1,625 renewals. In other words, roughly 1,300 allowed their subscriptions to lapse—possibly permanently. With extra efforts on the part of Subdivisions it would seem that a goodly percentage of these 1,300 might be induced to renew. It is something for the Sections and members to think about.

There are indications (and the rather disproportionate results would seem to prove it) that the membership is not exerting itself sufficiently to get the most out of the contacts. Considering the substantial amounts spent in securing these names in the first place, common sense and enlightened self-interest dictate that Sections should go all out in following up contacts to the very last, and until all hope of arousing the interest of contacts has been abandoned. We cannot hope for 100 per cent returns, but surely the percentage can, and therefore should, be raised very substantially.

## STATE OF ORGANIZATION

### A—State Committees and Sections

The Party now has twelve State Executive Committees, sixty-five Sections (sixty-four in 1950) three Language Federations, with WEEKLY PEOPLE Clubs and Study Classes throughout the country. There are thirty-seven Language Federation Branches, making a total of 101 Subdivisions.

### CALIFORNIA

There are three Sections in this state, Section Grass Valley having been disbanded in December, 1948. Situated in a mining area, it had led a precarious existence for several years, mainly because members and sympathizers had moved out of the area when mines closed down. The remaining members were transferred to the nearest Section (Oakland).

The three Sections in the state are active and doing excellent work, particularly Section Los Angeles, the largest in the state. Section Oakland is second in size, and San Francisco third. All three Sections continually engage in leaflet distribution, Los Angeles topping the list. Here as elsewhere, however, there has been a regrettable decline in this activity. From a high of more than three-quarters of a million in 1948, it has sunk to a five-year low of a little more than a quarter of a million in 1951. The decline is attributed



in part to the launching of another important activity, in part to the drafting of several active members, etc. However, it is acknowledged by the organizer of Section Los Angeles, for instance, that "many members failed to participate in leaflet distribution, and that the majority failed to participate to the extent that the occasion warrants."

The new important activity to which reference was just made is the setting up of self-service newsstands by the three Sections. Comrade Robert Long is credited with having "proved the practicability of self-service newsstands as far back as 1948," yet it was not until 1951 that they were really set up on a widespread basis. More details about this very important "venture" will be given later in this report.

The State Executive Committee functions efficiently under the competent secretaryship of Comrade Dallas Tuck. The report to the 1952 state convention is a revealing and, in many respects, an inspiring document. As already mentioned, Comrade Herbert Steiner has been touring the state for several years, with excellent results.

There are study classes in all three Sections, and two Weekly People Clubs—in Los Angeles and Oakland. There are three Language Branches in Los Angeles, one from each Federation.

Because of the continuing ballot restrictions, it is not possible to place the Party's ticket on the ballot in this state. A write-in vote campaign was conducted in 1948, with 195 such votes being credited to the S.L.P. (in 1944: 327). (The word "credited" is used advisedly, many more votes having no doubt been cast for, but not credited to, the Party.) The state as a whole is certain to continue giving a good account of itself.

#### COLORADO

There is still only one Section in this state, Denver. It continues active, though it would seem that more could be done with its present membership. The Section maintains a WEEKLY PEOPLE Club and one study class.

The Party's ticket was placed on the ballot in 1948, a total of 214 votes having been credited to us. It is fully expected that we will be on the ballot in this state in 1952.

#### CONNECTICUT

There are four Sections in this state (Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven and South Norwalk), Section New London having lapsed since 1948. There is a State Executive Committee, one Federation Branch (Hungarian), two WEEKLY PEOPLE Clubs, and one study class. Activities are at a low ebb in the state, repeated efforts (by sending national organizers into the state) having been of little avail. Although this is a small state in area, the members are rather scattered, and their conditions of making a living appear to render it difficult for them to meet and carry on organized activities.

The Party's ticket appeared on the ballot in 1948, and a total of 1,184 votes were cast (in 1944: 1,220).

#### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Section Washington is still the only Section in this area. The Section,

however, has jurisdiction over agitational activities in Baltimore. Since the citizens of the "district" are disfranchised, there are, of course, no elections. The members are restricted in their activities, some of them being government employees. As is well known, politics is the main "industry"—many maintain its "product" is of the lowest possible quality.

#### ILLINOIS

In this state there is a State Executive Committee, four Sections (Cook Co., Peoria, Rockford and St. Clair Co.), one WEEKLY PEOPLE Club, one study class, five Language Branches (four Bulgarian, one South Slavonian). As a whole Party work is carried on persistently in the state, though far from commensurate with its importance as an industrial state.

In 1948 there were 3,118 votes cast for the Party's ticket (in 1944: 9,667). Due to greatly increased ballot restrictions, it is doubtful that we shall be able to place the Party's ticket on the ballot this year.

#### INDIANA

There are five Sections in this state (Evansville, Ft. Wayne, Indianapolis, Lake Co. and St. Joseph Co.), a State Executive Committee, three Language Branches (two Bulgarian and one South Slavonian), no WEEKLY PEOPLE Clubs, and no study classes. Repeated efforts have been made to stimulate the Sections to greater activity, and these will be continued.

The Party's ticket was on the ballot in 1948. A total of 763 votes was credited to us. It is expected to have a ticket on the ballot this year.

#### MASSACHUSETTS

We have four Sections in this state (Boston, Hampden Co., Lynn and Waltham), a State Executive Committee, no WEEKLY PEOPLE Clubs, no study classes, and no Federation Branches. The substantial vote of 5,535 was cast for our ticket in 1948 (in 1944: 2,780).

#### MICHIGAN

There are now three well-functioning Sections in this important industrial state (Pontiac, Washtenaw Co. and Wayne Co.), an efficient State Executive Committee, and three Language Branches, one from each Federation. There is one WEEKLY PEOPLE Club, and three study classes. Regular activities are being carried on in the industrial areas with (on the whole) excellent results. Despite these activities, only 1,263 votes were cast for our ticket in 1948 (1944: 1,264).

#### MINNESOTA

There are five Sections in this state (Albion, Duluth, Minneapolis, St. Paul and Winona), one Section (St. Paul), however, barely functioning. It may be found advisable to consolidate it with Section Minneapolis into one Twin Cities Section. There is a State Executive Committee, a Twin Cities WEEKLY PEOPLE Club, and one study class.

We received 2,525 votes in 1948 (in 1944: 3,176). The Party appeared on the ballot as the "Industrial Government Party."



## MISSOURI

There are two Sections in this state, St. Louis and Kansas City. The latter is weak numerically, but through the indefatigable efforts of our veteran Comrade Karl Oberheu, regular activities are carried on. There is no State Executive Committee, and no study classes, but an energetic WEEKLY PEOPLE Club, and a Bulgarian Federation Branch.

We failed to get on the ballot in 1948, but 191 write-in votes were credited to us (in 1944: 221).

## NEW JERSEY

There are three Sections in the "Garden State" (Essex Co., Cumberland Co., and Passaic Co.), a State Executive Committee, and one South Slavonian Federation Branch, but no WEEKLY PEOPLE Clubs and no study classes.

In 1948 we were credited with 3,354 votes in this state (in 1944: 6,939).

## NEW YORK

In this, the so-called "Empire State," we have ten Sections (Bronx, Erie Co., Jamestown, Kings Co., Monroe Co., Montgomery Co., New York, Oneida Co., Onondaga Co., and Rensselaer Co.), an efficiently working State Executive Committee, five Language Branches (two Bulgarian, one Hungarian, two South Slavonian), two study classes, and one WEEKLY PEOPLE Club. The three Greater New York Sections carry on lectures regularly through the winter months, conduct open-air meetings in season, and arrange many affairs, including the Thanksgiving Bazaar and the De Leon Commemoration meeting. Some of these affairs are conducted by the Sections separately, others are tri-Section events.

Only 2,729 votes were credited to us in 1948 (in 1944 the vote recorded was 14,352). We appeared on the ballot under the designation of "Industrial Gov't. Party."

## OHIO

In this important industrial state we have six Sections (Akron, Cleveland, Dayton, Salem, Stark Co. and Steubenville), a very efficient State Executive Committee, twelve Language Branches (four Bulgarian, two Hungarian, six South Slavonian), two WEEKLY PEOPLE Clubs, and two study classes. Two Sections lapsed since 1948; Lorain, long ailing and weak, and Cincinnati (Hamilton Co.). The lapse of the last mentioned was due primarily to the fact that four of its most active members moved out of the state.

Because of extraordinarily excessive ballot restrictions in Ohio, it is absolutely impossible to place the Party's ticket on the ballot in this state. The election law does not provide for a write-in vote, hence no votes were recorded, though a write-in vote campaign was conducted. A similar situation prevailed in 1944, though the restrictions then were less severe.

## OREGON

There are two Sections in this state (Astoria and Portland), and a Bulgarian Federation Branch. There are no study classes nor WEEKLY PEOPLE Clubs.

Because of ballot requirements the Party's ticket was not placed on the ballot in 1948, but a write-in vote campaign was conducted, 41 votes being credited to the Party.

## PENNSYLVANIA

There are six Sections in this state (Allegheny Co., Beaver Co., Dauphin Co., Erie, Greensburg, Philadelphia), a State Executive Committee, one WEEKLY PEOPLE Club, no study classes, and one Federation Branch (Hungarian). The state has been hard hit, chiefly by deaths among the most active members.

The Party appeared on the ballot in 1948 as the "Industrial Gov't. Party," and 1,461 votes were credited to us (in 1944: 1,799).

## WASHINGTON

There are five Sections in this state (Everett, Grays Harbor, Seattle, Tacoma and Vancouver), a hard working State Executive Committee, four study classes but no WEEKLY PEOPLE Clubs, and no Federation Branches. This state has also been hard hit, because active members have moved out of the state, and several have died or suffered from prolonged illness. Seattle was on the verge of collapse, but was saved (and is in process of being built up) by placing National Organizer Merson in the state over a period of many months. On the whole it is now in a healthier condition.

A total of 1,133 votes were cast for the Party's ticket in 1948 (in 1944: 1,645).

## WISCONSIN

There is still only one Section in this state (Milwaukee), and a State Agitation Committee. There is no WEEKLY PEOPLE Club, but a study class, and a South Slavonian Federation Branch. Practically all activities are centered in Milwaukee.

\*

We have National Members-at-large in the following states, etc.: Arizona, Arkansas, California, \* Florida, Indiana, \* Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, \* New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, \* Pennsylvania, \* Texas, Virginia, Washington, \* West Virginia, Alaska, Mexico, Wake Island. [\* temporary]

## B—Language Federations

Here follow the reports of the three Language Federations:

### REPORT OF THE BULGARIAN SOCIALIST LABOR FEDERATION

"To the 23rd National Convention,  
"Socialist Labor Party.

"Greetings:

"While the work of a revolutionary organization, especially one of a De Leonist type, is never smooth and easy, the Bulgarian Socialist Labor Federation has been experiencing much more hardship during the past few



years than is usually the case. The unusual activity of the forces of reaction — the extensive publicity given to the danger of subversive elements and Communist espionage, along with the clamorous witch-hunting expeditions — succeeded to a great extent in intimidating foreign-born workers, particularly those who had not completed their citizenship requirements, and thus created a situation difficult for us to deal with. People did not dare to subscribe for our paper, fearing they might be spotted as 'Reds' and deported as subversive. Others, the more timid ones, even stayed away from any doings of the organization, for the same reason.

"Nevertheless, the situation would not have been so bad if we could have managed to send an organizer on the road at the proper moment. The mere presence of an organizer in the field would have done much to allay the fear of many, as has been the case in similar situations in the past. Unfortunately, however, we were so situated the past two years that it was impossible to have an organizer in the field even for a limited time. And thus, for a time at least, the situation has gone from bad to worse.

"Of course, there can be no question that in time people will get over these fears. In fact, some have already taken courage and come back for the paper, and others are following suit from time to time. The rapid dissolution of the capitalist system, with all that that implies, would not allow them to keep their eyes shut to what is going on. Meanwhile, we have no other choice but to work that much harder. And there can be hardly any doubt that the membership as a whole is aware of the hard work before us. For it is reasonable to assume that by this time all who would shirk their duty for whatever reason have found their way out of the organization.

"Our difficulties with regard to an organizer, as has been pointed out previously, spring mainly from the fact that our field is not large enough to justify a permanent organizer. Our field is such that one can make the round in three or four months, and the best times are early in the spring or late in the fall. For years it was thought that the way to solve the problem would be to employ one more person at the National Office. With the extra help we could easily manage to have a man make the rounds more or less regularly, or as occasion might require. In 1949 we had the opportunity to try the scheme. While this worked very well as far as the work of the organizer was concerned, the extra financial burden turned out to be too great to sustain at the time, and the scheme had to be dropped. What else can be done to remedy the situation is still a problem.

"Under the circumstances, it was hardly to be expected that the results of our general activities during the preceding four years could be such as to do justice to the effort made. Still, they are far from being discouraging. The contribution for the campaign fund of 1948, amounting to \$15,126.15, topped the contribution for the previous campaign by \$3,014.75. For the four-year period, \$88,825.74 was collected for various funds, a decrease of \$2,837.53 as compared with the previous four years. The contributions to the National Office of the Party, amounting to \$40,773.84, exceeded those for the previous four years by \$3,208.24. Total receipts and expenditures for the four years ending October 31, 1951, were as follows: Cash on hand

from 1947, \$10,271.27; receipts, \$116,824.93 (an increase of \$3,549.70 in comparison with the previous period); expenditures, \$123,100.95; balance on hand, October 31, 1951, \$3,995.25.

"For the period covered by this report, there was not much change in the make-up of the organization. After the loss of Branch Milwaukee, which was disbanded for lack of active members soon after the last Party convention, we still have 16 Branches remaining, located in the following cities: Detroit, Mich.; Toledo, Akron, Cleveland and Mansfield, O.; Chicago, Waukegan, Zeigler and Granite City, Ill.; Syracuse and Lackawanna, N.Y.; Gary and Fort Wayne, Ind.; St. Louis, Mo.; Los Angeles, Calif.; and Portland, Ore. For the period reported, 11 new members were admitted, 17 were dropped, 2 were expelled, 4 left for the old country, and 13 died. Thus we have 187 members now, of whom 177 are naturalized citizens.

"For the same period: dues stamps purchased, 8,750; exemption stamps furnished, 450.

"With the exception of the *Almanac*, which is printed annually and takes the place of a regular agitation pamphlet, only one new pamphlet was printed, namely, 'Fascism is Still a Menace,' by Eric Hass. Another one, 'What is Socialism?,' was translated last year and is now ready for the printer.

"The effort of trying to sell subscriptions for Bulgaria had to come to an end, for the time being at least. The selling of such subscriptions is an easy matter, since there are still many hundreds of former readers of our paper now living in Bulgaria, many of whom would be only too glad to subscribe for the paper if delivery could be assured. Assuring delivery, however, is a problem to which we can find no solution. All our efforts in the past have been in vain. And now we are satisfied that the Stalinist rulers of Bulgaria are determined not to permit even a single ray of S.L.P. teaching in their domain, if they can help it.

"Fraternally submitted,  
[signed] "THEO. BAEFF,  
"National Secretary.

"Granite City, Illinois,  
March 16, 1952."

## REPORT OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST LABOR FEDERATION

"To the 23rd National Convention,  
"Socialist Labor Party.

"Greetings:

"Reporting on the activities of the Hungarian Federation of the Socialist Labor Party, I am pleased to state that we have held our ground in spite of the tremendous efforts of the reactionary elements in this country's Hungarian 'colonies,' who try to scare away the workers from attending our public meetings and affairs.

"We cannot report a gain in membership, but those we have are convinced that their place is in the revolutionary camp of the Socialist Labor Party.

"We publish our *A Munkas* weekly and at the present time an effort is



being made to get new subscriptions by sending out sample copies, as was done recently by the comrades for the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

"We have recently published the 20th volume of Sue's 'Mysteries of the People,' and the last volume is in the making. The translation was done by Comrade Fred Kardos.

"The *First of May* magazine was again published in 1951. It appeared without any advertisements, in compliance with N.E.C. instructions. We called for donations in lieu of advertisements, and realized over \$400, which covered our expenses.

"This year the magazine will be a Daniel De Leon centennial issue. We expect to illustrate it with suitable cuts to be obtained from the National Office.

"Following is a four-year comparison of receipts and expenditures:

|               | 1948        | 1949        | 1950        | 1951        |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Receipts:     | \$13,444.06 | \$12,375.97 | \$11,425.32 | \$10,216.71 |
| Expenditures: | 16,034.37   | 10,940.39   | 12,279.57   | 12,339.09   |

"In the last four years we have sent the following sums for dues stamps, funds and assessments, to the National Office:

|                                           | 1948       | 1949       | 1950       | 1951       |
|-------------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| "For WEEKLY PEOPLE subscriptions we sent: | \$3,128.48 | \$1,308.62 | \$1,397.37 | \$1,476.00 |
|                                           | \$96.59    | \$79.30    | \$71.07    | \$49.49    |

"Besides the sums mentioned above, our Branches contributed to the different funds through the Sections.

"The working conditions are not as good as the capitalist papers would like to make us believe. This is shown by the fact that the collections at our convention were \$600 less than in the previous year.

"There is no change in the attitude of the Rakosi regime of Hungary toward us. Our paper is still banned, and sometimes it is confiscated even when sent as first-class mail. When a comrade, who is a subscriber, wrote a letter to the Hungarian postmaster demanding that his letters be delivered to him promptly, as he knows the paper is mailed to him from New York every Monday, he also quoted in his letter the 57th paragraph of the Constitution, which is as follows: 'The Hungarian People's Republic guarantees the personal freedom and inviolability of the citizens, and respects the secrecy of letters and private homes.'

"He did not receive an answer to his letter, nor the missing copies of *A Munkas*. He also mentioned in his letter that '*A Munkas* is the only paper which fights against imperialism and war.'

"In Yugoslavia a comrade was sentenced to two years in prison for receiving *A Munkas* as first-class mail.

"Among the so-called D.P.'s or politicians who run away from Hungary, there is a quarrel as to who shall be leader in 'freeing Hungary from the

Moscovics.' The American government put some of them on the payroll, and those who are not on it are fighting against those who get fat paychecks.

"It is interesting to note here that the American government has many of these politicians on the payroll even in Europe and they are also fighting among themselves. Former Nazis, landlords and anti-Semites are among the favorites of the Truman Administration. These fakers are receiving monthly salaries of \$400, \$600 and \$800, plus expenses. They are traveling in style not only in this country, but also abroad, making speeches and hatching plans on how to 'free Europe' from the Stalinists.

"In Cleveland, Ohio, there is an interesting case. A one-time burlesque Bolshevik, who later was expelled from the Communist Party and became an I.W.W.ite, is facing deportation. After the first World War, the Hungarian I.W.W.ites openly stated in their paper that if anyone wanted a free trip to Hungary, all he had to do was to go out on a street corner and cry out loud that he was an I.W.W. member and the government would give him a free trip to Hungary. Now it is just the other way around. They are collecting a defense fund to save this ex-Communist from deportation. And, believe it or not, this I.W.W. member is writing three to four columns every week in the I.W.W. paper, praising the Rakosi regime!

"As usual, our membership will cooperate with the Sections to make our national election campaign very successful.

"Fraternally submitted,

[signed] "ALEX KUDLIK,  
"National Secretary.

"New York, N.Y.  
March 9, 1952."

## REPORT OF THE SOUTH SLAVONIAN SOCIALIST LABOR FEDERATION

"To the 23rd National Convention,

"Socialist Labor Party.

"Greetings:

"In submitting a report on our activities for the past four years, we wish to say at the outset that the conditions and circumstances were no more favorable than those of the preceding four years. Accordingly, we are unable, despite our efforts, to increase the number of readers of *Radnicka Borba*, to spread more Party literature, or numerically to increase the Federation. On the contrary, as you will note, we have decreased in membership, a decrease due largely to losses by death. With funds we made some progress, both for the Federation and for the Party. Overall income shows an increase of \$9,000.

"The fact that we have not increased the number of subscribers to *Radnicka Borba* is due in part to the fact that during the past four years we did not have either a part-time or a full-time organizer on the road, to visit the industrial centers inhabited by South Slavonian workers where we have no Branches or members. Thus many South Slavonian workers were denied the



opportunity of hearing our word or getting hold of our newspaper and our literature. We tried, and are continuing to try, to obtain the services of at least one member as an agitator for the Federation, but all efforts to date have been in vain. This does not mean that we have lost all hope of finding a suitable comrade (or more than one) for this important work.

"In our work of spreading the revolutionary program of the S.L.P. among workers of our language, we are meeting with very strong opposition. The agents of capitalism among South Slavonian workers, organized in various fraternal, church, athletic, singing and other societies, continue with considerable success to hold the workers to capitalism. To them, as to other agents of capitalism, Tito's and Stalin's 'Socialism' and 'Communism' have come as a godsend, serving as a weapon against Marxian Socialism and De Leon's Industrial Unionism.

"There is no doubt that Stalin's 'Socialism' and, of course, Tito's, render an inestimable service to world capitalism, as they cause great harm to a revolutionary working class movement such as ours. Without such 'Socialism' the world's oppressors would not be so successful in confusing the members of our class. Many of our fellow workers were at one time or another inclined to our Socialist idea and sympathetic to our movement. This inclination and sympathy were, of course, more instinctive than conscious, for if there had been more classconsciousness among them, i.e., understanding, instead of pulling away from our movement they would have come closer. When they saw how Stalin and Tito 'apply Socialism' in practice they became disillusioned and passive.

"The disillusionment and passiveness were, of course, helped along, to some extent, by the well planned witch-hunt against the so-called 'Communists,' and the resultant fear of persecution. Fear of the witch-hunt on 'Communists' affected some of the subscribers of *Radnicka Borba* of many years' standing. Even though they did not say so in so many words, the reasons they gave were enough to enable us to determine the basis for them.

"In order to combat the opposition and its fraudulent arguments against our idea of emancipation—against Marxism-De Leonism—every issue of *Radnicka Borba*, in addition to our public meetings and personal agitation, devotes considerable space to this question and to exposing the agents of Stalinism and Titoism as enemies of the working class. Unfortunately, however, with but few exceptions, the latter do not attempt to defend themselves against our charges, against the hammer blows of Marxism-De Leonism. They know very well that to enter into polemics with *Radnicka Borba* would mean defeat. Then, too, they know that such polemics would arouse interest among their readers, who would make an effort to get hold of *Radnicka Borba* in order to get first-hand information on the questions under discussion. This the commissars do not wish to see. Therefore they choose to remain silent; therefore they boycott us.

"However, they can boycott us all they wish; they can avoid all polemics with us regarding the burning social questions, but we shall not boycott them, nor cease our lashing at their faker hides. We are confident of our victory

over them, i.e., the winning of the workers' minds for our great cause of emancipation.

"Apart from the difficulties already mentioned, there are other factors affecting the present apathy among workers. It is not South Slavonian workers alone who are passive toward our idea, but also workers of other nationalities and nations. To be sure, the so-called war prosperity has contributed to the inertia. But the war prosperity is temporary and transitory, as is capitalism itself, and the latter is nearing its end—its destruction—because the conditions for its existence are melting away. Therefore the revolutionary movement (reflected in the S.L.P. of this and other countries) alone has a future. There will be an end to working class inertia, of this we can be certain.

"In our report to the 22nd National Convention we said that we had 14 Branches with 167 members. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1951, we likewise have 14 Branches, the membership being 152. In this number are included seven members-at-large. For the same period we admitted four new members, one transferred to a Party Section, three were dropped, four were expelled and eleven passed away. As can be seen, the drop in membership is due largely to death.

"We have Branches in the following cities: Akron, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Dayton, Steubenville and Youngstown, O.; New York and Lackawanna, N.Y.; Hoboken, N.J.; Detroit, Mich.; East Chicago, Ind.; Chicago, Ill.; Milwaukee, Wis.; and Los Angeles, Calif. We have two *Radnicka Borba* Clubs: Detroit, Mich., and Milwaukee, Wis. The Club in Chicago had to be disbanded, but three of its members joined the Branch and are very active. These Clubs are of great financial value to the Federation and the Party. In the four-year period they contributed, to *Radnicka Borba* and to the WEEKLY PEOPLE, the sum of \$7,641.

"In South America, as you know, we have a goodly number of De Leon's followers who work, as best they can, to spread the idea of Socialist Industrial Unionism among South Slavonian as well as Spanish-speaking workers. In Montevideo, Uruguay, they work as an organized unit. They conduct a study class and every year they hold a De Leon commemoration meeting, as well as Paris Commune and May Day meetings. Then, too, they hold social affairs to raise funds for *Radnicka Borba*, and they get out a considerable quantity of Party literature in the South Slavonian and Spanish languages.

"Our adherents in Buenos Aires, Argentina, are not formally organized, the political situation being what it is, but they also contribute to our cause. What is most unsatisfactory is the fact that money from subscriptions, literature sold and voluntary contributions cannot be sent to us because the law prohibits sending money out of the country. How long this will last is hard to say.

"The circulation of *Radnicka Borba*, as stated in the beginning of this report, has not been increased, though we have tried and keep trying to do so. The circulation is, on the whole, as it was four years ago. We shall continue our efforts to increase the circulation of *Radnicka Borba*.

"For each of the past four years we issued our *Almanac*, the total num-



ber being 9,052 copies. We published the pamphlet 'Reviling of the Great' by Arnold Petersen, in 1,057 copies; '*Versalsjka Jugoslavia*' by L. Petrovich, was issued in 1,972 copies. Total copies for all, 12,081. In addition to the foregoing we published 10,000 each of the leaflets: 'The 1948 S.L.P. Platform,' 'The Cominform-Tito Rift,' and 'The Task of *Radnicka Borba*.'

"The Party's pamphlet 'S.L.P. and the Internationals' by Eric Hass, has been translated and run serially in *Radnicka Borba*. It is scheduled for early publication.

"For the four-year period we sold literature in the amount of \$6,121.11, a bit less (\$3.87) than for the preceding four years. For the National Campaign Fund of 1948 we contributed \$17,818.30. For the WEEKLY PEOPLE 60th Anniversary Fund we have contributed (to date) \$6,205.52.

"Herewith we submit a record of income from major sources and the total income and expenditures for the four-year period. The National Office is supplied annually with a detailed account of Federation finances.

|                               |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|
| "Income:                      |             |
| Balance on hand June 30, 1947 | \$17,922.90 |
| From subscriptions to R.B.    | 7,132.50    |
| Contributions to R.B.         | 51,959.50   |
| Literature                    | 6,121.11    |
| Dues stamps                   | 2,636.05    |
| Printing plant                | 4,431.36    |
| WEEKLY PEOPLE subs            | 757.00      |
| Party funds                   | 29,786.82   |
| Miscellaneous                 | 3,581.37    |

"Expended:

|              |
|--------------|
| \$124,328.61 |
| 112,245.66   |

"Balance on hand June 30, 1951: \$12,082.95

"We shall make every effort to overcome the obstacles and difficulties already mentioned in this report. We know our task is to acquaint the South Slavonian proletariat, in this and other countries, with the revolutionary program of the S.L.P., i.e., with De Leon's idea of Socialist Industrial Unionism. For in that program rests the solving power with which the workers of America and of the world (and on both sides of the Iron Curtain) can emancipate themselves from capitalist slavery. Socialism is the only hope of humanity!

"Central Committee, South Slavonian Federation S.L.P.  
"Fraternally submitted,

[signed] "P. SLEPCEVICH,

"National Secretary.

"Cleveland, O.  
March 13, 1952"

## C—Activities in the Esperanto and German Language Fields

### Esperanto

It is with great regret that we report that activities in the field of Esperanto have all but collapsed. While there were indications of a slowing in the pace of the Esperanto Committee (under direction of Comrade George Falgier), there were no symptoms so alarming as to justify serious apprehensions. However, during the second half of the year the prolonged silence on the part of Comrade Falgier, and his apparent neglect of important Esperanto business, suggested that something was radically wrong. Finally, on February 11, 1952, the National Secretary wrote Comrade Falgier expressing concern over this long silence, and urging him to prepare the usual annual resume for inclusion in this report. In a letter dated February 10, 1952 (crossing the National Secretary's letter in the mail) Comrade Falgier gave the explanation for his silence—and it was not a happy one. For the record the letter is herewith reproduced:

"Dear Comrade Petersen:

"With great regret, I feel compelled to resign as chairman of the Esperanto Committee. I have not been able to function properly in that capacity, but in fact have become a brake on activity which might have been carried out by Comrades Fletcher and Seligman if they had been free to follow their own initiative.

"I am pressed by problems and anxieties which I will not take the time to detail, but some of which you are aware of, and I feel obliged to lay aside every possible responsibility and obligation in order to release the tension and avoid some sort of a crack-up. In line with that purpose, I am becoming inactive in the Party for a period of time, although I will keep up my membership and continue with financial support.

"I understand that Comrade Fletcher has storage room for the Esperanto Committee belongings. If it meets with your approval and if he is able to accept them, I will ship them to his address or to any other address you may designate. I am sure he and Comrade Seligman will have better success in distributing remaining copies of Committee publications and in performing other duties than I have had during past months.

"I will finish the printing of the new Esperanto pamphlet, for which the type is completely set, but will turn over the German and Japanese leaflet translations with the rest of the Committee property.

"Fraternally,  
[signed] "GEORGE FALGIER."

In reply the National Secretary (under date of February 13) expressed his shocked reaction to Comrade Falgier's letter and decision. Likewise for the record that letter is reproduced here:

"Dear Comrade Falgier:

"I received your letter of February 10, and I was shocked to learn that



you feel you must resign as chairman of the Esperanto Committee, and practically withdraw from all S.L.P. activities. I am as stunned as I am puzzled. This is a hard blow to the Party, especially on the eve of a National Convention and campaign. In the light of the heroic efforts exerted by our late Comrade Weder—efforts that surely hastened, and possibly caused, his death—it is a melancholy reflection that the fruits of these efforts cannot now be reaped, perhaps not at all without staring all over again.

"I suppose Comrade Fletcher (if he is able and willing) and Comrade Seligman can handle purely routine matters, though I have no knowledge of the extent of their understanding of, and capacity to use, Esperanto. For the present at least, the prospect in this respect is discouraging. I shall, of course, contact the two comrades and check on the matter of storing the 'Esperanto belongings.'

"I note that you will finish work on the new Esperanto pamphlet. What happens now to my request for a 1951 summary for the Convention report? Will you be able to give me that?

"Fraternally,  
[signed] "ARNOLD PETERSEN,  
"National Secretary."

No reply has been received to that letter. However, Comrade Frank W. Fletcher of New York, who had been assisting Comrade Falgier in the work of the Esperanto Committee, and who had received a copy of Comrade Falgier's letter, communicated with the National Secretary with a view to determining what could be done about this deplorable situation. It was decided that Comrade Fletcher should visit Comrade Falgier in St. Louis (as a railroad worker he travels on a pass) and attempt to ascertain the precise cause of this unexpected development, in order to salvage something from the seeming wreck of our heretofore good ship Esperanto.

In due course Comrade Fletcher did visit Comrade Falgier and submitted a somewhat lengthy report of his conversations with Comrade Falgier. The sum and substance of his report was that personal problems had prompted Comrade Falgier to take this unexpected step, but that the situation was perhaps not quite so hopeless as Comrade Falgier's February 10 letter would indicate. It appears that Comrade Falgier would continue his connection with SAT (the international Esperanto organization), write occasional articles for the organ of this organization, and perhaps do a bit of translating occasionally, etc. However, on the S.L.P. level, and for all practical purposes, it would seem that Comrade Falgier has, in fact, ceased activities on the Esperanto Committee.

On March 19 the National Secretary wrote Comrade Falgier a letter in which he recapitulated the limited arrangement effected as a result of Comrade Fletcher's visit, and asked for his express concurrence in the arrangement, which, among other things, provided for the transfer of all records and Esperanto literature to New York, to be held in safe-keeping by Comrade Fletcher. It was also understood that Comrade Fletcher would dispatch litera-

ture, etc., to inquirers, until a better plan could be worked out. No reply has been received from Comrade Falgier, nor has he submitted the promised summary or report of Esperanto activities in 1951. It is possible that this report may be at hand by the time this convention is in session. As of this writing everything pertaining to Esperanto S.L.P. work is at a standstill.

It is, of course, with deep disappointment that we reflect on this anticlimax to the magnificent work done in this field by our late lamented Comrade Theodore Weder, who literally laid down his life in his extraordinarily successful efforts for the S.L.P. in the Esperanto field. But the work he did has not been in vain, for the work will go on, however limited the scale, and the seed he "sowed abroad" will assuredly sprout and bear fruit. There is good reason for concluding that some of these seeds did sprout and bear fruit in Germany, as the following may serve to prove.

#### *German*

Under the general direction of the Esperanto Committee, Comrade Erwin Seligman of New York has (since the death of Comrade Weder) maintained correspondence with a number of persons in Germany, though not always with the happiest results. Unfortunately, Comrade Seligman is handicapped in several important respects, including a seeming inability to work in harness with the National Office. There is no question here of the comrade's loyalty or sincerity—it seems chiefly to be a case of temperament and regrettable habits, plus a deficiency in the handling of the English language which at times has caused the National Secretary severe headaches!

On the other hand, Comrade Emil F. Teichert has rendered inestimable service in translating German material into English, and checking translations by others. Unfortunately, Comrade Teichert's health is such that he is not able to engage in sustained activities, despite which he has recently performed a remarkable feat in translating an important German pamphlet into English. "Important" is used advisedly, for it is the expression of what appears to be a new movement within the German Social-Democratic Party—a movement which in many respects startlingly parallels the S.L.P. This movement (calling itself "The Association Working For Scientific Socialism") is the first real indication of the emergence of S.L.P. principles on the European continent. It may be that this movement is the logical result of the experience of German Marxists following the two world wars. But it seems much more likely that these Germans have read De Leon's contributions to Marxism, and benefited by them. This supposition is all the more tenable in view of the tremendous, and tremendously important, work done by Comrade Weder.

It is the opinion of your National Secretary that this translation by Comrade Teichert may well be published by our Party, with the necessary editing, emendations, footnotes and possibly running comments. A brief summary and a few citations from the pamphlet would seem to be in order. There are, of course, certain contentions made in this pamphlet which the S.L.P. would reject, but they concern chiefly the question of "How" rather than



"What." As Comrade Teichert put it in his covering letter to the National Secretary:

"Needless to say, the faults and weakness in the pamphlet are obvious. These people obviously know *what has to be done* but DO NOT KNOW HOW to do that which has to be done. And as long as this is the case the ground on which they tread is indeed precarious."

The pamphlet is a reply by this group to certain arguments and proposals made by a leading Social Democrat, a Dr. Rudolf Zorn, published by the Social Democratic Party as a pamphlet under the title "The New Social Order as an Immediate Socialist Task." This is replete with the familiar Social Democratic fatuities, particularly the folly of attempting to introduce Socialism within the framework of capitalist society. In short, it is a typical "bourgeois Socialist" product.

The reply to Dr. Zorn might be described as a thesis on the subject of "Nationalization versus Socialization." It does a thorough job on Dr. Zorn and his bourgeois Socialist fantasy. The authors sum up Dr. Zorn's position as representing "a theory that holds Marxian principles are no longer applicable," and they claim that "he opposes socialization of industry, wanting no more than to retain and rearrange capitalist ownership in the means of production." The authors of this significant pamphlet continue:

"One needs only [thinks Zorn] to plan and manage industry, and give instructions to the owners of capital. Zorn lays before us a system of planned industry based upon private ownership and proprietary initiative; a system in which all the principles of capitalism are retained, but under which an effort is to be made to break off only some of the sharpest fangs of the predatory [capitalist] beast."

It seems almost fantastic that one who acclaims Socialism could have presented such a program, and this one hundred years after Marx and Engels (in "The Communist Manifesto") analyzed and demolished the freakish idea!

Dr. Zorn condemns the Marxist solution on the ground that what he calls "the Bolshevik example" has proved "that the undesirable features of capitalism can definitely not be removed through nationalization [meaning really "socialization"] of the means of production, and that neither freedom nor social justice can be assured by such means."

To which our dissident authors reply:

"According to this the 'propositions' of Marx for establishing a Socialist order were merely the nationalization of the means of production and the Bolsheviks' economic and social system constitutes the Socialist society for which Marx had striven."

The Marxist pretensions of the Stalinists are then demolished in a few words, ending with the commonsense observation that "Not a name, but the actual structure is the thing that determines the character of a social system."

The current "nationalization" program in Western Europe is expertly disposed of, after a brief historic review of "nationalization" in general. Referring to British "nationalization" under the British "Labor" govern-

ment, and demonstrating that "nationalization" is carried out in the interest of the capitalists collectively, Dr. Zorn's critics penetratingly observe:

"It is, therefore, obvious that the causes for these English nationalization measures are not to be sought in a Socialist tendency in the general development, but in a need on the part of capitalist economy as a whole.

"The basic industries have reached a stage of monopoly (analogous to the transportation industries of another day) which makes all other branches of industry dependent upon them; which places production as a whole in a constant state of jeopardy, and which constitutes a threat to the regular progress of the national economy. Today the prime requisite for a national economy is to maintain its basic industries and to guarantee uninterrupted production without giving precedence to immediate returns.

"Only the State can guarantee this. Only the State is in a position, temporarily or permanently, to bolster industries in need of subsidization (*vide* coal mining in England). Only the State can make up deficits, carry out long-term investments and establish a balance of power in the national productive process, just as in the past it developed the railroads and the post office through the imposing of tariffs.

"This makes for an increased necessity on the part of the State—caused by modern war—to assume control over the most vital means of production in the conduct of war. In order to assure the smooth functioning of the war machine the State must at all times be in a position, in order to assure mountainous volumes of war supplies, to organize, and promptly set into motion, the most vital branches of industry. This possibility rests most securely with the State when it itself becomes the owner of the industries.

"These are the causes of modern nationalization. And the circumstance is in no way changed because nationalization today is not being carried out by reactionaries such as Bismarck and Meternich, but by Socialist parties whose motives may be entirely socialistic."

On this point the pamphlet sums up:

"Socialist principles cannot be attributed to a nationalization which enables the State to wield power over the means of production, as well as over wealth production itself, not even if such nationalization is carried out by [so-called] Socialist parties. There is nothing to distinguish such nationalization from the nationalization inaugurated by Bismarck. Nor does such nationalization create any sort of basis for socialization. The more all-embracing nationalization becomes, the more will economic development, in a Socialist sense, be frustrated."

The pamphlet now turns its attention to Stalinist Russia, and it does so in language which almost entirely is that of the S.L.P. To quote:

"Private ownership in the means of production in Russia has been abolished, as Marx calls for. Single individuals no longer control the means of production as private owners, as the capitalists and landowners did. Instead the State and party bureaucracy now control it as a collective employer. But the relation of the State and party bureaucracy, as a unit, is the same toward the means of production, and toward the workers, as was formerly



the relation of the private owner toward the means of production and toward the workers. Nor has the relationship of the workers been changed toward the means of production, and to the wealth of their own creation. No more now than before have they any power of control over the means of production or over their own product. Now, as before, capitalist relations, and hence the conditions of exploitation and oppression, prevail in Russia.

"Wage labor and the extraction of surplus value are the distinguishing features of this capital relationship. The extraction of surplus value in the nationalized industry of Soviet Russia has only assumed a different form. The extraction of surplus value in Russia no longer assumes the anarchistic form that it does under capitalist private ownership. Instead it is extracted in a planned manner through the bureaucratic fixing of prices, of wages and of investments.

"This makes the present Russian State a class state, and the fact that governmental power is in the hands of the Communist (Bolshevik) party changes nothing. Without the establishment of Socialist conditions in production the capitalist State of Western creation would thus also remain a capitalist State even if the power of government fell into hands of the [German] Social Democratic party.

"The ruling and oppressing class is always that part of the population in whose hands is found the power to control, and therefore the right to exploit, the means of production. In Russia that part is the State and Party bureaucracy."

And again:

"The means of production in Russia are concentrated in the hands of the Bolshevik party functionaries who constitute the ruling class, which class controls the entire product of the whole of society. To each citizen is allotted an individual part of his product as the result of wage and price fixing. This class thereby also wields control over the surplus wealth (surplus value) produced by the workers. Capitalist conditions are secured."

The pamphlet points out that a planned and managed industry is in itself nothing new, least of all under advanced capitalist conditions. And it is emphasized that power over industry carries with it power over everything else, including "overlordship over the ones who have created the goods with the aid of these means [of production]—the workers."

The pamphlet continues on this theme:

"And it must not be forgotten that as long as we have had a capitalist economy the owners of the means of production wielded not only economic power, but also political power through government, ministers, cabinets; through a whole hierarchy of officials, judges, police, generals and staff officers. But they also wielded, and still wield, political power in the form of the press, over practically the whole of literature, over the films, theaters, radio and, last but not least, they wield political power through their overlordship of science, the schools and the Church. For they have always and at all times been in possession of the means of existence and thus could bestow poorly-paid and well-paid positions. They alone can pay subsidies; they alone can

bribe and guarantee careers. It is they who give the journalists, and men of letters, writing for them, their bread, for they own, or they influence, the press and the publishing industry. The means of production place in their hands the key to political and spiritual power—money."

Further:

"Possession of economic power means possession of political power.

*"It is not the individual owner of industry who wields economic power. He constitutes only a fraction, and, therefore, wields only a fraction of economic power. BUT THE CLASS THAT OWNS ALL OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION WIELDS ALL OF THE ECONOMIC POWER AND, THEREFORE, IT ALSO WIELDS ALL THE ACTUAL POLITICAL POWER."*

Compare this with De Leon's dictum that it is not the individual capitalist who exploits the individual worker. Exploitation is a class act, and surplus value is extracted from the workers *as a class* by the capitalists *as a class*.

The phrase "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" comes in for a searching analysis, which is, in part, reminiscent of the analysis given in the S.L.P. pamphlet, "Proletarian Democracy vs. Dictatorships and Despotism," published more than twenty years ago. Zorn, having superficially treated the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" concept, is answered thus:

"Had Comrade Zorn read carefully Section II of the 'Communist Manifesto,' or the 'Civil War in France' and had he read the introduction which Frederick Engels wrote for the latter then he would know that that which Marx called the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat' is nothing other than the final establishment of a genuine political and economic democracy, instead of the democracy which today rules out the mass of the people. Then he would also know that Marx had given thought to the matter indeed, and he would further know that the Russian dictatorship has nothing—absolutely nothing—in common with the Marxian 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat.'"

Dr. Zorn's argument that "not the abolition of wage labor but a just share for labor," should be the "demand of the times," and his gleeful note that this demand "is also being upheld by the Catholic Social Ethics philosophy" (!), are answered by a thoroughly sound exposition of the Marxian law of value, the law of wages, etc., etc. All this is done in language of such clarity and logic, with so constant an emphasis on the fact of exploitation, that one might have supposed it was done by a De Leonist. And the question is posed: "How can this exploitation be abolished?" The pamphlet proceeds to answer the question, again in language that one hitherto has only found in the S.L.P.: "When a person himself owns the means of production there is no need for permitting himself to be exploited. He can keep for himself the entire product of his labor and therefore can keep the full equivalent he receives through the sale of it.

"Now, when the workers in an industry own the means of production with which they work, then there can be no exploitation for then the entire product turned out by such an industry belongs to those who produced it.

"When an entire class (the workers) owns the means of production which it operates, then there definitely can be no question of exploitation, for then



the product produced by the community as a whole belongs to those who produced it.

"Many objections are raised in opposition to such a goal. The most frequent objection is that the workers are incapable of managing industry by themselves.

"But our opinion is: If a few boards of directors which, as a rule, know nothing about the way an industry is run, are supposed to be able to select and appoint capable individuals to manage industry, then a plant council elected by the workers in the plant, a council that is an integral part of production and that can be drawn together from every department in the plant—such a plant council can at least exercise as much capacity in deciding who is capable of managing industry and upon what basis production should take place. We even hold that such a plant council would be far superior to the current directing boards because, as a result of its activity in industry it would be in constant touch with industrial production and, further, because such a plant council would be under the control of all the workers in the plant.

"Under these conditions, for the first time since [primitive communal] historic times, it would again be possible to make a *real selection of those with ability*. For it would then be possible for society to develop greater ability than until now was the case, for the source of ability would no longer be restricted to the small domain of owners, but it would actually flow from the great reservoir of the masses.

"Ownership and influence would then no longer be the determining factors in filling managerial positions, but the workers would, in their own interest, make individual ability the sole and exclusive factor in selecting their representatives."

In its essence and apart from certain phrasing, this is the Socialist Industrial Union Government plan as formulated by De Leon and propagated by the S.L.P. The reference to ancient communism is pursued further in a later passage which reads:

"The multi-thousand-year course of development through which production has passed began with collective ownership in the means of production for its foundation. And now, after undergoing a whole series of forms of development, it has reached a stage which once again makes collective ownership in the means of production essential.

"The span that marks humanity's departure from the primitive form of collective ownership in the means of production—primitive communism—has not been without efforts to re-establish that collective form of property. In a discussion on socialization it will therefore be helpful if we familiarize ourselves with the meaning, and the form, of historic collective ownership, and with the various attempts to re-establish collective ownership in the means of production..."

"Under primitive communism all the means of production belonged to the then existing community (*gens*, village, etc.). All the adults of a given community decided collectively what was to be produced, who was to produce it and under what circumstances, and when, work was to be performed. Since

no one individual owned the means of production no individual could coerce another as to the amount, the type or the conditions of labor. That could only be done by all for all. For the same reason neither could any one claim for himself the products of labor. These products were distributed, but by all for all. Nor was it possible for any one to hand over more to one than to the rest. Therefore, distribution, as a rule, was equal. Even when, in particular instances and under particular circumstances, unequal distribution took place, it could only be carried out with the consent of all."

The concept presented in the quoted passages is substantially the Marx-Morgan-De Leon synthesis, or the Socialist Industrial Union program.

And again, in an illuminating passage on the Spanish Civil War (before the Stalinists intervened, preparing the way for Franco), the pamphlet adverts to the apolitical, industrial council concept of society:

"In many instances the Spanish workers, during the first years of the civil war, approached the [Socialist Industrial Council] policies closely. They socialized a great part of industrial and agricultural production so as to permit every man a clear and easily controlled relation between the work he performed and his share of the commodities produced, and this relation could be determined by the workers themselves.

"The workers of a plant elected a plant council. This council selected the directing functionaries. These were sometimes former directors or engineers, but very often they were capable workers and executives. Everyone engaged in a plant received a weekly allotment which was mostly the same for all. At given periods a balance was struck. The amount was computed which was needed for plant upkeep, machine repairs, fixtures and the required raw material, as well as the amount necessary for social improvements and taxes demanded by the State. The remainder was allotted to the workers in the plant.\*

"In this connection it should be noted that all Spanish industry definitely was not organized along these principles. There was not only a very sharp differentiation in the ownership, and factory, forms in individual parts of the country, but very often also in the same city. The Catalanian workers developed this form of industry furthest, and here again most significantly in agricultural industry—the village communes. This development, however, was rendered retrogressive as a result of the mounting influence wielded by the Russians, who for the most part made delivery of military aid contingent upon the Spaniards' acceptance of Russia's political and economic policies.

"The Spanish attempt to achieve a Socialist society was shattered by the might of its opponents, just as during the peasant uprising 400 years before, the German peasants' attempt to free themselves from feudal exploitation was run aground by the might of the then still too powerful feudal lords."

Finally, in another reference, the concept of the industrial union council

\*"This information was to be found in the publications of various Spanish organizations at the time of the civil war. The material in the original is today no longer available to us."



is again picked up together with a consideration of the labor-voucher under Socialism. We read:

"The basis for the existence of trade unions and Parliament will thus disappear in that the entire social structure will rest upon the Council and Industrial Organization principle. Workers in the industries will elect industrial Councils which will be recallable at all times, and these Councils, in turn, will select the directing functionaries. Through their elected delegates all the industries, in their turn, will be knit into one all-embracing national organization [Dachorganisation] that will determine the general course production and administration will take.

"That which is essential—and that which is also new for those who are not familiar with Marx's work in 'Capital'—is the change-over from a calculation based on money to a calculation based on labor time; the value of all commodities will be expressed in labor time. Thus for work performed by him each worker will receive labor-time money to cover the amount of labor he expended—labor-time money which is not a fixed standard, which is based neither upon gold nor upon a fictitious value, but which certifies to the amount of wealth actually produced.

"As a result purchasers will no longer approach commodities tagged with prices, but they will approach them as stable values expressed in labor time. Not only do commodities lose their price, but labor power thus also loses its price. And along with prices, price fluctuations also disappear and thus also disappears the possibility for wage and price policies.

"In a given period a worker expends a given amount of labor, which can be computed on the basis of the time expended. The amount of labor time embodied in the commodity he has produced is identical with the amount of labor time which he expended. The amount of the combined labor time embodied in all of the commodities produced by all of the workers, is identical with the combined amount of labor expended by all of the workers.

"If the workers, in return for their labor, receive labor-time money which represents the full extent of labor actually expended, and represents wealth for the production of which this amount of labor time was necessary, then they will receive the full value of their product. Exploitation will thus have ended. There will be nothing left to be extracted from labor in the form of surplus value. The deductions needed for such universal social services as schools, rearing of children, hospitals, old-age care, administrative purposes, and so on, will revert to the deductees. The amount of these deductions cannot be determined by individuals or privileged groups, but it will be the specific function of a bookkeeping system to determine the degree of such social requirements and actual administration costs. Contributions will be the same for all. However, these contributions will revert to the individual members of society in proportion to their individual needs. They will rise in proportion as the means of satisfying the various social needs increase and that social production makes available.

"The distribution of commodities, which under capitalism is governed

by the market price, as is labor power, will merely become a matter of bookkeeping."

As will be seen, these German Socialists have achieved a remarkable degree of clarity as regards the structure, basis and functioning of future Socialist society. But, as Comrade Teichert pointed out, they are apparently still greatly confused as to HOW to achieve it. A closer acquaintance with De Leon's works and S.L.P. literature in general (which we hope to effect) should aid in clearing them up on this vital point. As a first step in this direction, Comrade Teichert has written a letter to the publisher of the pamphlet under consideration, one Franz Rotter in Bavaria. (One hopes that in this case there is nothing in a name!) If proper contact is established, and if anything develops out of it, it is hoped that something of mutual and lasting benefit may be derived from it.

At any rate, this indication of the emergence of a real party of Socialism (on Marx-De Leon lines) in a country as important as Germany, has seemed significant enough to justify the time and attention given to it in this report. It is information our members should have, both for keeping posted on what seems a promising development, and for the encouragement which it is felt it affords. It may be that this "light in the East" may again prove a "rush-light," as others have in the past. If it so proves, we shall be disappointed, but not deterred. For sooner or later there *must* and *will* be a break. And from what more logical quarter could this come than from highly industrialized Germany?

#### D—Party Membership

During the year the amount realized in the sale of dues stamps was \$3,556.30, an increase of approximately \$400 over 1950. A total of 16,181 dues stamps was sold, about 1,750 more than in 1950. A total of 1,139 exemption stamps were granted, as against 656 for the preceding year. The total membership remains approximately the same, despite the heavy toll of deaths. Subdivisions purchased dues stamps as follows: State Executive Committees, \$2,310.25; Federations, \$512.50; "isolated" Sections, \$405.30; and national members-at-large, \$328. There are 62 national members-at-large, an increase of five.

During the year 18 members were dropped from the rolls for non-payment of dues, 2 resigned, 2 were expelled, 22 died, and 21 new members were added. Twenty-seven transfers were effected in 1951.

A number of Sections are temporarily below the required minimum, but continue with the constitutionally required approval of the N.E.C.

#### E—Study Classes

In 1951 20 Sections conducted 21 study classes. In addition, one study class (discussion group) was conducted in Cincinnati by an out-of-town member of Section Dayton, with the cooperation of a member of the South Slavonian Branch in Cincinnati.

The following Sections conducted two classes: San Francisco, two ad-



vanced classes; Washenaw Co., Mich., one beginners' and one advanced; Greater New York Sections, two beginners'; Everett, Wash., two beginners'.

Following is a list of study classes by states, as compared with 1950 (1950 figures in parentheses): California 4 (5); Colorado 1 (1); Connecticut 1 (1); Illinois 1 (1); Indiana 0 (1); Massachusetts 0 (2); Michigan 3 (4); Minnesota 1 (2); New Jersey 2 (0); New York 2 (6); Ohio 2 (2); Pennsylvania 0 (3); Washington 4 (7); Wisconsin 4 (1); West Virginia 0 (1). Total 22 (37).

As will be noted, the number of study classes sank to a new low, only 22 having been conducted, with only twenty Sections participating, despite the strong plea of the N.E.C. a year ago to the Subdivisions "to make study classes a *must* on their educational calendar." The N.E.C. urged: "A membership well informed in Marxian Socialist principles and S.L.P. organization is the best guaranty for the continued progress of our Party."

Above all, however, study classes are required to train those whose sympathies draw them to the Party, so that when they join we may have complete assurance that they know why they join, with the added reasonable assurance that they will stick, and become a credit to the Party.

The few Sections that take study class work seriously, and realize its importance, find them most rewarding. Comrade Kapitz, organizer of Section Cleveland, writes about the Cleveland study class as follows:

"I want to add that Comrade Weinstein's [study class] report in itself shows meticulous preparation, which is only the reflection of the fine work that he did as an instructor. I have learned much from attending these sessions, and I'm sure the rest can say the same. Comrade Pirincin also did a fine job. It is safe to say that this was one of the finest study classes I have ever attended. Indeed, it is to be regretted that more of our members and newcomers were not present at these sessions."

Precisely why the plea of the N.E.C. went unheeded—nay, worse—is difficult to explain. Part of the explanation for the drop, of course, lies in the general decline in membership activity. There are reefs and rocks ahead if this trend continues much longer.

Of the 22 classes conducted, 17 were beginners', 4 advanced, and one for developing speakers, etc. In 1950 there were 37 classes, with 22 Sections and five State Committees participating. In 1949 we had 60 study classes with 39 Subdivisions participating, and in 1947 the total number was 62. Quite a drop from 62 to last year's 22! It would be well for all concerned to reflect on what has been observed on a previous occasion: "It must be remembered that our aim is not to educate merely for the sake of education. Our aim is to make S.L.P. men, in keeping with De Leon's dictum: 'The thing, then, is to make S.L.P. men. Let that be all serious men's endeavor.'" Let us all take to heart De Leon's earnest plea.

## S.L.P. MOVEMENT ABROAD

### (a) Canada

The difficulties and problems of our Canadian sister organization have in-

creased, despite heroic efforts to stem the tides of disaster that have threatened to engulf it. Last year the National Secretary, Comrade Paul Debragh, found it necessary to accept private employment, and this at a time when all-out efforts were required. The official organ, *The Socialist Press*, has not been published for many months, and agitation seems to have reached its lowest level in years. In part, of course, the cause and circumstances are similar to those that have retarded our movement in this country. But since the margin of safety is infinitely narrower than here in the United States, the possibility of imminent disaster is much greater. As with us, so with the Canadian S.L.P.; increased difficulties call for increased effort and activities on the part of the membership. When the reverse happens, we should not be surprised at the result. It is to be hoped that the Canadian membership will awaken to a realization of the menacing situation and do something effective about it.

There are Sections in the following cities: Toronto and Ottawa, Ont.; Montreal, Que., and Vancouver, B.C. The last mentioned has been particularly hard hit, and its problems are greatly aggravated by reason of its vast distance from the center of the movement. We are hoping to be able to aid in some measure by sending one of our national organizers on a visit to this distant but important city of the Canadian Far West, during the summer.

Three brief radio talks were broadcast in Ontario during the election campaign. During the summer months weekly meetings were held outdoors in Toronto, and during the winter monthly indoor meetings were held, also in Toronto. Three new leaflets were published in 1951: "The High Cost of Living," "Begin Now," and "Stalinism Exposed," the last mentioned illustrated and adapted from our leaflet by the same title.

The Party participated in the Ontario provincial election November, 1951, and the candidate who was entered in the Riverdale riding received a vote 50% higher than that previously registered for the Party in that riding. Comrade Debragh observes that "The reformist C.C.F. and the Stalinist L.P.P. met with a crushing defeat." In such an apparently favored situation it would seem that the field should be fairly cleared for S.L.P. agitation—that a special opportunity is presented of which the membership should be expected to take full advantage.

Income for the year was slightly in excess of expenditures, leaving a small balance on hand as of December 31, 1951.

It is earnestly hoped that there will be a decided upswing in the affairs of the Canadian S.L.P. in the months to come.

### (b) Great Britain

Our British comrades are faced with problems of even more mountainous proportions than those plaguing our Canadian comrades, and so long as the British workers can be made to chase the reform will-o'-the-wisp, little relief can be expected. The hold of the trade union and political labor fakers on the workers may be weakening, but as yet far too many still prefer the reform sparrow in the bush to the soaring eagle of Socialism. Mr. Bevan and his



lieutenants, perhaps realizing that the old Labor Party narcotic is losing its effect on the workers, are trying another tack: they call it "the third force." It appears to be designed as a compromise to bridge the gap between the old labor faker schemes and Stalinist chicanery. Whatever temporary success Mr. Bevan may meet with, it is obvious that his program (like all compromises) is destined to fail miserably. Meanwhile the gigantic man-issues of our times are knocking on the gates ever more imperiously. The workers may ignore the summons only at their peril.

[Since this was written a new book by Mr. Bevan has been published in this country. He calls it "In Place of Fear." According to the *Herald-Tribune* book reviewer, the book "is a loosely organized outpouring of his own warm-hearted 'democratic socialist' convictions, with autobiographical overtones." What interests us particularly is the book reviewer's reference to Mr. Bevan's alleged mentors. We are told that "He calls himself a Marxist, but says he was led to Marx by reading the writings of three Americans, Eugene V. Debs, Daniel De Leon and Jack London, only one of whom, I suspect, ever struggled through the pages of *Das Kapital*." (I doubt also that Mr. Bevan ever waded through its muddy three volumes.)"]

This capitalist book reviewer's gratuitous sneer at Marx is the familiar one from that camp, but whether or not Mr. Bevan ever "waded through" the pages of "Capital," it is certain that if ever he read any of De Leon's works, he derived no benefit from so doing. It is safe to assume that his "Marxism" derives from Debs and the latter's sometime cronies, Morris Hillquit & Co.!]

It is understandable, therefore, that our British comrades are able to register but little, if any, real, tangible progress. Yet, the turning of the lane cannot be far distant in Great Britain, even as it must soon come in sight in America. For not forever can the workers, even if they would, survive the onslaughts of capitalism, even if these are delivered in the name of labor and Socialism. The law of self-preservation is bound to assert itself, and that self-preservation lies in Marxism Socialism, and in none other.

Regrettably it has not been possible for our British comrades to resume publication of their official organ, *The Socialist*. That fact alone accounts in a large measure for the lack of S.L.P. progress in Britain. For without a weekly (or at least a monthly) paper, the message of the Party cannot be properly and effectively presented to the workers. In 1940 Comrade Cotton wrote that the circumstances of the labor movement in Great Britain "dictated that the policy of the S.L.P. should be confined to the urgent need of building up its press and its Party paper, *The Socialist*." He continued:

"It was imperatively necessary for the S.L.P.... to make a superhuman effort to establish its own press, its own paper, and to create a body of native S.L.P. literature in order to expose the treacheries of labor leadership and to propagate working class policy in the light of Marxian principles... The S.L.P. was faced with the alternative of making the effort, however difficult, or going under altogether, possibly for a long period."

"And the S.L.P. made the effort. Without a cent in its treasury, with no competent writers [?], no prospects of sales, and no organization for

distribution, it set to work to gather funds for the paper and in six months began publication...."

Comrade Cotton enumerated the tremendous difficulties that attended the heroic effort. But the members responded and worked hard to raise funds and to sell the paper. "Despite all that [difficulties]," wrote Comrade Cotton "... the sales gradually crept up before the war to over three thousand copies per month."

However, the outbreak of World War II checked this most promising enterprise. While the paper continued to make its appearance (with some lapses), it was impossible to continue on the same scale and finally, as stated, it was found necessary to discontinue publication altogether.

Surely, the circumstances today call even more imperiously for heroic efforts, and if such efforts could succeed prior to World War II, they can and no doubt will succeed today. If a Socialist Labor Party paper was desperately needed in 1940, it is even more desperately needed today. In concluding his comments, Comrade Cotton repeated:

"All the effort and activity of the Party must be concentrated upon building up the press and the paper."

Were it not for the artificial obstacles and government interferences, the S.L.P. of America might be in a position to aid by giving a vigorous push to the effort to re-establish *The Socialist*—an effort which *must* be made some day, the earlier the better. As things are at present, it seems that we can do little more than express confidence in their meeting with success—"a consumption devoutly to be wished."

We are privileged to have with us on this auspicious occasion that stalwart veteran of the British S.L.P., Comrade Leonard Cotton, tireless working class champion and most capable exponent of Marxism and De Leonism in Great Britain. This, indeed, is the consummation of one hope long cherished. Comrade Cotton, as you know, is presently our guest, and it is not to be doubted that he will, during these proceedings, convey to us more vividly than can be done here some of the problems and opportunities confronting the S.L.P. of Great Britain during these final hours of capitalist decay and inevitable disintegration. We hope that he may derive inspiration and instruction from his presence among us, even as we are inspired by, and shall profit from, his being with us.

### (c) Australia

While there have been increasing manifestations of a revival of interest in the program of the S.L.P. in Australia, there are as yet no indications of real progress toward reconstituting the Party "down under" on an effective organizational basis. But though the indications of life may seem but little more than a spark, it is good to know that the spark is being fanned, and that without a doubt it will presently burst into flames. The situation in Australia in general is not unlike that in Great Britain, and the problems are correspondingly great. But though a movement may pine and temporarily decline almost to the vanishing point, the idea underlying it cannot be killed, least of all the



idea of the potentially powerful De Leonist movement. Yet it would be cheering if in the coming months intelligence were received that De Leonism in Australia at long last had again recovered the ground held during the first two or three decades of this century. For it was a potent force in those days, with a brilliantly edited weekly published in Sydney, and vast quantities of S.L.P. literature distributed throughout the provinces of the Australian Commonwealth.

## PARTY PRESS AND LITERATURE

### WEEKLY PEOPLE

WEEKLY PEOPLE sales for 1951 (with comparative figures for the preceding four years) were, in round figures, as follows: 1951, \$11,534; 1950, \$10,181; 1949, \$11,228; 1948, \$11,465; 1947, \$13,203.

The average weekly printing (including special issues and special mailing plan bundles) was 7,308, as against 6,436 for 1950. The increase is primarily due to the "WEEKLY PEOPLE mailing plan" launched early in 1951.

Two special issues were printed, the May Day-Sixtieth Anniversary issue, and the Labor Day issue. The combined total number of copies printed was approximately 21,700, almost the same as the year before.

There has been a falling off in bundle sales during the first three months of 1952, due, of course, to the discontinuation of the special WEEKLY PEOPLE mailing plan.

The WEEKLY PEOPLE circulates in every state in the Union, though the number of subscribers is low in quite a few states—in some states we have only one subscriber. For whatever satisfaction it may give us, it may be noted that for the first time in many years no state is wholly without the WEEKLY PEOPLE. In addition there are subscribers in Alaska, Hawaii and Canada. Even in Wake Island the WEEKLY PEOPLE is read! Besides, in several foreign countries (apart from Canada) we have a few subscribers.

New York leads in number of subscribers, with California second and Ohio third. Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Washington, Minnesota and Wisconsin are (in the order named) fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth.

The special WEEKLY PEOPLE mailing plan was described in some detail in the National Secretary's report to the 1951 N.E.C. Session, and need not be gone into here. Forty Sections and State Executive Committees participated, with approximately 3,000 copies of our paper being mailed out weekly, the grand total mailed out during the period being a little over 66,000 copies. Most of the Subdivisions participating did so for the full six-months period. It is estimated that upward of 15,000 persons received free copies in the 26 weeks' period.

This is a respectable figure, and credit is due the participating Sections for the splendid cooperation rendered on the whole. Nevertheless, the net result (in point of subscriptions recorded) was negligible. Better results

were obtained where personal visits were made following mailing of copies, as shown, for example, in the case of Seattle.

It is difficult to determine just how the recipients reacted to their introduction to the WEEKLY PEOPLE. A few expressed their displeasure, some in the familiar illiterate and vulgar manner. Most of them made no comments as far as we know. Nevertheless, we may safely assume that fertile seeds were sown, and certainly thousands of strangers to S.L.P. principles were made acquainted with them through receiving copies of our official organ. That in itself is all to the good. Whether or not this plan should be tried again (in the same or a somewhat different manner) must depend on circumstances. Perhaps a better plan may be devised later.

An excellent plan for increasing sales of the WEEKLY PEOPLE has been hit upon by our California Sections. It is the self-service newsstand plan. Comrade Herman Barefield, organizer of Section Los Angeles, describes the stands briefly as follows:

"They are sturdily constructed of welded steel and neatly finished with aluminum paint. The papers are folded once, crosswise and the whole top is displayed in the rack. On the portion of the back plate that extends above them, a silk-screened sign in red and black proclaims—

"SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY"

"You Have Read The Lies About Socialism

"Now Read The Facts: 5c"

"A box with a coin slot is welded in a convenient position to the frame.

"Thus displayed, the WEEKLY PEOPLE headlines and splendid front-page cartoons present a striking appearance alongside the capitalist dailies, and if sales are an indication of interest (and who can deny it?), considerable interest is being shown. Thus displayed, the WEEKLY PEOPLE needs no salesman—it is its own salesman. It invites the passer-by to look and to examine its contents. A great many do. It invites these to drop a nickel in the box and take it home, this paper that reads a little strangely and certainly differently to others, but which seems to be consistent and to make sense. Many of those who look do buy a copy. They buy it because it has aroused interest and not because someone urged them to buy it.

"Most of the papers placed on the stands are sold. Some are taken and not paid for, and occasionally one is mutilated or defaced. This was expected to a much greater extent than has actually happened. Actually, the developing problem in Section Los Angeles is keeping the stands supplied with papers! That, however, is a problem that can be solved, if people continue to buy our paper."

It is pointed out that these self-service newsstands have been used regularly for many years by the capitalist dailies and the smaller weeklies. Hence, the idea is not unique with the S.L.P., nor is it a novel one. If this idea should spread to other parts of the country (and particularly to the populous Middle West and the East) it certainly opens up almost unlimited possibilities for increasing WEEKLY PEOPLE sales. With our limited circulation the S.L.P. can scarcely pioneer successfully in this respect in a virgin field.



All the Sections in California report success with regard to this plan. Section Los Angeles has supplied the stands and (as the S.E.C. report to the State Convention has it) "they represent the skilled handiwork of Comrades A. W. Haller, G. Meyers and R. Long." A total of forty stands (as of February 3, 1952) was produced by Section Los Angeles, of which ten were disposed of to the S.E.C., the rest (except two that were stolen) being in use in Los Angeles.

One of those who had been introduced to the WEEKLY PEOPLE through the self-service stands wrote us some time ago:

"Although I had never heard of your publication a year ago, the conscientious work of some loyal S.L.P.er in maintaining a serve-yourself news rack of WEEKLY PEOPLE just outside the gates of Lockheed Aircraft Corp. led to my purchasing my first copy. At first I was merely curious. Now I subscribe to WEEKLY PEOPLE, buy extra copies from the serve-yourself rack to distribute to my friends, and have bought subscriptions for several of my friends living in distant cities. Frankly, I don't know what I would do without my weekly issue. I owe you all a debt of gratitude..."

Yes, indeed, this plan has infinite possibilities!

The reaction of this newcomer to the WEEKLY PEOPLE recalls that of another—one who became a pillar of the S.L.P. We refer to our distinguished guest, Comrade Cotton. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the S.L.P. Comrade Cotton wrote the National Secretary, recalling his impression when first he looked into a copy of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. It seems doubly appropriate to reproduce what Comrade Cotton then said. He wrote:

"It is just forty-four [now fifty-six!] years since I first saw the WEEKLY PEOPLE. May it not be counted against me if I frankly confess that it did not impress me in the least. It left no memory of a single word. If anyone, at that time, had told me the paper was destined to alter the whole course of my life, to cause me to willingly suffer the ostracism of those whom I revered as great leaders of the Socialist movement, to quarrel with my then friends; that it would rouse me from lethargy and compel me to study as I never studied before, such a prophecy would have seemed incredible. So little do we foresee the future.

"There is just one feature of the WEEKLY PEOPLE I have time to mention. It is a feature that struck me soon after I began to read it regularly, but which I do not remember to have known anyone else to mention. That is, that the WEEKLY PEOPLE, and De Leon's contributions in particular, not merely explained Marxian principles, but *taught us how to interpret and apply them to existing conditions*. It was always a very valuable feature of the paper. No other paper ever did it. This feature of De Leon and *The People* is one which, possibly, was more likely to strike the attention of a reader far removed from the scene of action than of those who were in close proximity, and for a good reason. American members and readers would be actors in, and immersed in, the details of the struggles and activities which gave rise to the articles. The nearness of the action, and their own part in it, would be more likely to absorb their attention and prevent the objective considera-

tion of the feature mentioned. But, on this side of the Atlantic, those struggles in themselves seem to be the business of those on the spot, and do not appear of the same urgency. The objective consideration of the writing itself appears to stand out more conspicuously. At any rate, that was a feature of De Leon which always seemed to me to be most valuable for those living in other countries, though it is invaluable for training to all. The WEEKLY PEOPLE taught us how to apply our Marxism in action."

These are true words, well writ! Though Comrade Cotton's initial reaction on first looking into the WEEKLY PEOPLE was negative, it must have affected him subconsciously. Many of us have felt and experienced the same sensation upon initial contact with De Leonism, as John Keats did in another field when he wrote his beautiful sonnet, "On First Looking Into Chapman's Homer." When we first looked into the *Daily* (and the *Weekly People*, a new world swam into our ken, except that ours was the world of the future, and not the world of the ancient past. And yet, with but slight paraphrasing, we can apply the poetic lines of Keats to describe our own sensations when first we sensed the meaning and potency of De Leon's profound message. For, as Keats poetically phrased it:

"Then felt I like some watcher of the skies

When a new planet swims into his ken;

Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes

He stared at the Pacific—and all his men

Looked at each other with a wild surmise—

Silent, upon a peak in Darien."

As watchers of the social skies we have—upon first looking into *The People*—experienced the exhilarating sensation of a new world swimming into our ken—a world of beauty, equity and sense. And this through the thought-laden, potent words of Daniel De Leon.

### Labor News Sales

There was a decided drop in Labor News sales of Party publications in 1951, the lowest in many years—again a manifestation of the decline in general membership activities. The figure for 1951 (with comparative figures for the preceding four years, in round figures) was as follows:

1951, \$5,001; 1950, \$8,074; 1949, \$7,394; 1948, \$6,541; 1947, \$9,905.

Labor News sales for the first three months in 1952 amounted to approximately \$1,545, as against \$1,222 for the corresponding period in 1951. While this is a healthy increase, we cannot be too optimistic as regards the possible results for the entire year, especially since we shall have to concentrate on leaflet distribution, with leaflets furnished free to the Subdivisions during the campaign.

### Books, Pamphlets, etc., Printed

During 1951 the following books and pamphlets were printed or re-printed:

Title: Despotism on the March; author, Petersen; pages, 32 (self cover);



quantity, 100,000; edition, 1st.

Despotism on the March: Petersen, 32 (reg. edition), 2,000, 2nd.  
18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte: Marx, 208 (paper), 1,500, 1st.  
18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte: (cloth), 500.

During the first three months in 1952 the following were printed or re-printed:

Socialist Industrial Unionism: Hass, 64, 3,000, 10th.  
Bourgeois Socialism: Petersen, 208, (paper) 1,500, 1st.  
Bourgeois Socialism: (cloth) 500.  
Inflation of Prices or Deflation of Labor: Petersen, 32, 2,000, 4th.  
War—Why?: Petersen, 48, 3,000, 6th.

In addition, 500 copies of "Daniel De Leon: Social Architect," cloth edition (printed some years ago) were bound, the 500 originally bound having been sold out. Volume II of this work is now in preparation.

In preparation also (and nearly finished) is the volume which will contain De Leon's "four basic pamphlets"—"Reform or Revolution," "What Means This Strike?," "Burning Question of Trades Unionism," and "Socialist Reconstruction of Society." They will be published in cloth and paper binding under the collective title "Socialist Landmarks." There will be a general preface, and the individual prefaces of each pamphlet will be retained. Other pamphlets (to be revised or otherwise brought up to date) are on the list of scheduled publications. And, as already mentioned, a second volume of "Daniel De Leon: Social Architect" is now in preparation. It will include the lectures delivered on De Leon by the National Secretary since 1940, namely: "Daniel De Leon: Orator," "Daniel de Leon: Disciphanarian"; "Daniel De Leon: Internationalist"; "Daniel de Leon: Social Scientist"; "Daniel De Leon: Emancipator"; and "Reviling of the Great."

Regrettably, it has not been possible to print (or reprint) as many titles as we had contemplated. Our chief pressman was unable to give us as much time as we had expected. It will be recalled that he works for us only part time, as he has a "regular" job with a commercial plant. His difficulty was due partly to illness and partly to additional demands placed upon him by his "regular" employer. Fortunately we have succeeded in getting essential things done, including leaflets which were printed on our smaller press by Si Merson, a conscientious and increasingly competent comrade.

Unfortunately no progress has been made in bringing out a new edition of Sue's works. This is caused entirely by the inability of our expert pressman to put in as much time as we should have liked. If he can give us more time during the next year or so, we expect to bring out that much delayed and much desired new edition of Sue's masterpiece. Our failure is a double disappointment in that we had hoped to make this new edition one of the features of the De Leon centennial commemoration.

The "help problem" at the National Office became acute during 1951, when we were left without a bookkeeper. Comrade Doris Ballantyne, who took over the job in 1948, had agreed to serve for three years, wishing to return to California at the end of that period. She left, accordingly, on July

1, 1951, having proved herself a most competent bookkeeper and a conscientious worker. However, the problem of securing a new bookkeeper confronted us. The difficulties in this respect have been fully explained in the National Secretary's report to the 1951 N.E.C. Session. For the time being the National Secretary's assistant and secretary, Comrade Sophie Blume, took over. She was fully equal to the assignment, but it meant doing the work of two people—her own and that of a bookkeeper, and in the long run such an arrangement would prove an impossible one. Despite the utmost devotion and exertion, the doing of two important jobs would prove killing to any one, and continued efforts were made to secure a competent bookkeeper.

Fortunately, in February of this year the services of Comrade Ruth Orange were secured. One shudders to think what might otherwise have happened, considering the fact that we were approaching a national convention and a presidential campaign. Comrade Ruth Orange is an expert bookkeeper—one of the best—and always willing to help out "in a jam," apart from performing her own duties. So for the present all is well. It is altogether proper and fair, however, to emphasize that but for the willingness and ability of Comrade Sophie Blume to assume the extra work of bookkeeping, we should have been in an almost hopeless position. Appreciated also is Comrade Louis D. Cohen's cheerful willingness to assume additional burdens, especially during periods when Comrade Blume was wholly preoccupied with bookkeeping work. The National Secretary counts himself fortunate in having such devoted comrades as his assistants. Incidentally, but surely not unimportantly, the fact that Comrade Blume was able to handle the bookkeeping, in addition to her other duties, meant a saving to the Party of more than \$2,000. And that, as the popular saying goes, "ain't hay!"

### Leaflets Printed

During 1951, and the first three months of 1952, the following leaflets were printed:

#### January 1 — December 31, 1951

Capitalism is Bankrupt, sm. 4 pp., 105,000 (revised); Is Atomic War Inevitable?, sm. 4 pp., 288,000 (new); N.Y.C. Campaign Leaflet ("What's Happened to our Free Ballot?"), sm. 2 pp. 65,000 (new); Railway Workers—Wake up!, sm. 4 pp., 25,000 (new); Socialism: Champion of Civilized Principles, sm. 4 pp., 10,000; Socialism Now or Catastrophe, sm. 4 pp., 25,000 (revised); Socialism vs. Govt. Ownership, sm. 4 pp., 50,000 (revised); The Socialist Aim, sm. 4 pp., 15,000; Socialist Industrial Unionism, lge. 4 pp., 25,000; Stalinism Exposed, sm. 4 pp., 255,500 (new); Threat to YOUR Liberties, sm. 4 pp., 175,500; What Socialism Means, sm. 4 pp., 50,000 (revised); Where Do We Go From Here?, sm. 4 pp., 25,000. Total 1,114,000.

#### 1952 Printings: 1st Quarter

Capitalism is Bankrupt, sm. 4 pp., 51,000; Socialist Industrial Unionism, lge. 4 pp., 19,000; Stop U.M.T.!, sm. 4 pp., 117,000 (new). Total, 187,000.



To recapitulate:

During 1951 a total of 1,114,000 leaflets were printed, to which should be added 302,000 on hand as of January 1, 1951, or a grand total of 1,416,000. Of this total, 1,127,500 were shipped out during the year, leaving on hand as of December 31, 1951, 288,500.

During the first three months of 1952, a total of 187,000 were printed, making (with quantity on hand January 1, 1952) a grand total of 475,500. Of this quantity 211,000 were shipped out, leaving on hand as of March 31, 1952, the total of 264,500.

It is planned of course, to print large quantities of leaflets for distribution during the campaign. As has been the practice in the past, these will be supplied to the Subdivisions without charge, the cost being charged against the National Campaign Fund.

## Sundries

In addition to the foregoing, the usual house-printing was done, and printing for the National Office. National Office printing alone amounted to approximately \$924.

Advertising sold (to Subdivisions only) came to approximately \$365.

## PARTY FINANCES AND FUNDS

As usual, the books, accounts and inventories of National Headquarters (including the books of the National Office) have been audited by the Party's auditing firm, Messrs. Simonoff, Peyser & Citrin, C.P.A., and certified to be correct and in proper order. The Financial Statement and Balance Sheet for 1951, as well as the financial report of the National Office, both duly signed by certified public accountants, are submitted herewith, together with similar statements for 1948, 1949 and 1950. The Financial Statements, etc., for these years were printed in quantities sufficient to supply each member with a copy, and they were thus supplied. The same procedure will be followed with respect to the statement, etc., for 1951.

Here follow the usual summaries and tables of contributions received from January 1, 1951, through March 31, 1952, with comparative figures and comments:

January 1, 1951 - Dec. 31, 1951

### (A) PRESS FUNDS

|                                      | 1951      | 1950        |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| W.P. 60th Anniversary Fund           | 23,710.40 |             |
| W.P. 60th Anniversary "Vol." Assess. | 9,455.00  | \$33,165.40 |
| Press Security Fund                  |           | 2,071.02    |
| Bazaar Fund                          |           | \$10,737.26 |
| Bal. 1950 Bazaars                    | 1,903.06  |             |
| 1951 Bazaars (12/31/51)              | 15,789.83 | 17,692.94   |
|                                      |           | 14,851.89   |
| Bal. 1949 Bazaars                    | 1,143.86  |             |
| 1950 Bazaars (12/31/50)              | 13,708.03 |             |

Christmas Box

7,578.64 6,603.51

\$60,508.00 \$32,192.66

### Comparative collections at Federation Convention Banquets for the WEEKLY PEOPLE:

|                                         |            |             |
|-----------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| Bulgarian (Christmas Box)               | \$4,415.25 | \$ 4,117.34 |
| Hungarian (Bazaar Fund)                 | 1,000.00   | 1,000.00    |
| South Slavonian (60th Anniversary Fund) | 4,367.00   | 4,030.00    |

\$9,782.25 \$9,147.34]

### (B) OTHER FUNDS

|                                                   | 1951       | 1950        |
|---------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| National Organizer (incl. Quinn Testimonial) Fund | \$1,730.35 | \$15,519.32 |
| Radio Broadcasting Fund                           | 584.30     | 1,111.15    |
| De Leon Ed'l. Publication Fund                    | 643.27     | 595.79      |
| Political Rights Defense Fund                     | 12.25      | 79.50       |
| Esperanto Fund                                    | 405.06     | 784.61      |
| 35th Anniversary Fund (Nat'l. Secretary)          |            | 177.25      |
| New Machinery Fund                                |            | 155.00      |
| National Campaign Fund 1948                       |            | 5.00        |

### Summary

|                   |             |             |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Total Press Funds | \$60,508.00 | \$32,192.66 |
| Total Other Funds | 3,375.23    | 18,427.62   |

\$63,883.23 \$50,620.28

### (C) FUNDS: 1st Quarter 1952

|                                           | 1st Quarter 1952 | 1st Quarter 1951 |
|-------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| PRESS FUNDS:                              |                  |                  |
| W.P. 60th Anniversary Fund                | 325.35           |                  |
| W.P. 60th Anniversary "Voluntary" Assess. | 1,341.00         | \$1,666.35       |
| Press Security Fund                       |                  | 838.98           |
| Bazaar Fund                               |                  | 1,500.09         |
| Christmas Box                             | 4,997.70         | 1,752.32         |
|                                           |                  | 4,769.92         |
|                                           | \$9,003.12       | \$7,452.18       |

### OTHER FUNDS:

|                         |           |           |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| National Organizer Fund | \$ 447.35 | \$ 153.20 |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|



|                                          |       |        |
|------------------------------------------|-------|--------|
| Radio Broadcasting Fund .....            | 93.00 | 95.05  |
| De Leon Editorial Publication Fund ..... | 48.96 | 96.00  |
| Political Rights Defense Fund .....      |       | 5.00   |
| Esperanto Fund .....                     | 28.45 | 170.08 |

#### Summary (First Quarter)

|                         |            |            |
|-------------------------|------------|------------|
| Total Press Funds ..... | \$9,003.12 | \$7,452.18 |
| Total Other Funds ..... | 617.76     | 519.33     |
|                         | <hr/>      | <hr/>      |
|                         | \$9,620.88 | \$7,971.51 |

The grand total for all funds was \$63,883.23 in 1951, as against \$50,620.28 in 1950—an increase over the preceding year of \$13,262.95. To the Press Funds the total contributed in 1951 was \$60,508, as against \$32,192.66 in 1950. On the other hand, all other funds in 1951 received only \$3,375.23 as against \$18,427.62 in 1950. The increase in Press Fund contributions, and the decrease in contributions to all other funds, are alike due to the special call for a \$60,000 WEEKLY PEOPLE 60th Anniversary Fund. When special stress is placed on a special fund for a special purpose or occasion, it seems inevitable that all other funds must suffer, though happily not necessarily correspondingly so. While it was hoped that the Anniversary Fund might have produced the \$60,000 by itself, we did reach the mark of \$1,000 for each year of the WEEKLY PEOPLE's existence by adding the other Press Funds, thus in a manner of speaking reaching the goal set for the anniversary year.

The Bazaar Fund shows a total received from the 1951 Bazaars, etc., of \$15,789.88 as of December 31, 1951. Adding the balance carried over from the 1950 Bazaars makes a total of \$17,692.94 for 1951, exceeding the corresponding 1950 total by approximately \$2,840. The Christmas Box of 1951 yielded \$7,578.64 as against \$6,603.51 for 1950, and the Press Security Fund \$2,071.02 as against \$10,737.26 in 1950.

Special purpose funds (other than the Press Funds) all showed a decline as compared with 1950, except the De Leon Editorial Publication Fund, which registered the small increase of approximately \$48. And whereas in 1950 the amount received for the National Organizer Fund was approximately \$15,520, the amount received in 1951 was only about \$1,730. The 1950 figure, however, includes the special Quinn Testimonial Fund. The contributions to the Radio Fund declined by about one-half of the 1950 figure, and the Esperanto Fund suffered a decline of about \$379.

The three Federations at their conventions contributed close to \$10,000 to the Press Funds. Of this amount the Bulgarian Federation contributed (in round sums) \$4,415; the Hungarian Federation \$1,000; and the South Slavonian Federation \$4,367. (In 1950 the total contributed by the Federa-

tions was approximately \$9,150.) This is apart from substantial contributions made to the WEEKLY PEOPLE 60th Anniversary Fund, etc. The National Organization is grateful to our Language Federations for their ever generous support.

The various Subdivisions contributed to the Thanksgiving Bazaar Fund as follows (with comparative figures for 1950):

|                                                                              | 1951 Affairs, etc.<br>as of March 31, 1952 | 1950 Affairs<br>Final Totals |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Eastern Interstate (N.Y.-Conn.-N.J.-<br>Philadelphia-Washington, D.C.) ..... | \$ 4,835.61                                | \$ 4,126.54                  |
| Michigan State .....                                                         | 2,125.17                                   | 2,498.96                     |
| Bay Area, Calif. ....                                                        | 1,801.84                                   | 1,120.74                     |
| Ohio State .....                                                             | 1,244.20                                   | 1,299.90                     |
| Los Angeles, Calif. ....                                                     | 1,146.15                                   | 979.16                       |
| Illinois State .....                                                         | 1,012.00                                   | 937.00                       |
| Western New York .....                                                       | 704.00                                     | 585.52                       |
| Massachusetts State .....                                                    | 682.68                                     | 722.30                       |
| Washington State .....                                                       | 481.34 )                                   | 408.26                       |
| Section Grays Harbor, Wash. ....                                             | 100.00 )                                   | 171.25                       |
| Wisconsin (Section Milwaukee) .....                                          | 500.00                                     | 806.12                       |
| Minnesota State .....                                                        | 358.50                                     | 307.05                       |
| Western Pennsylvania .....                                                   | 224.62                                     | 277.10                       |
| St. Louis, Mo. ....                                                          | 179.97                                     | 257.22                       |
| Denver, Colo. ....                                                           | 123.00                                     | 83.00                        |
| Portland, Ore. ....                                                          | 99.15                                      | 123.52                       |
| Albion-Duluth, Minn. ....                                                    | 63.00                                      | 55.00                        |
| Miscellaneous .....                                                          | 1,608.74                                   | 852.45                       |
|                                                                              | <hr/>                                      | <hr/>                        |
|                                                                              | \$17,289.97                                | \$15,611.09                  |

#### WEEKLY PEOPLE CLUBS

There are at present ten active WEEKLY PEOPLE Clubs, as against twelve in 1950. They contributed a total of \$3,570 to the Press Funds. The following tables show the amounts contributed by the respective clubs, and to what particular Press Fund assigned:

| Weekly People Club of:           | 1951 Totals | 1950 Totals |
|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Wayne Co., Mich. ....            | \$ 950.00   | \$ 550.00   |
| Los Angeles, Calif. ....         | 810.00      | 452.58      |
| Cook Co., Ill. ....              | 465.00      | 489.00      |
| Cleveland, O. ....               | 360.00      | 300.00      |
| St. Louis, Mo. ....              | 340.00      | 435.00      |
| Bridgeport, Conn. ....           | 210.00      | 150.00      |
| Oakland, Calif. ....             | 200.00      | 41.20       |
| Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn. .... | 90.00       | 75.00       |



|                           |                  |                  |
|---------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Erie Co., N.Y. ....       | 75.00            | —                |
| South Norwalk, Conn. .... | 70.00            | 35.00            |
| Denver, Colo. ....        |                  | 133.00           |
| Allegheny Co., Pa. ....   |                  | 42.00            |
|                           | <hr/> \$3,570.00 | <hr/> \$2,702.78 |

#### Summary:

|                                     |                  |                  |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| WEEKLY PEOPLE 60th Anniversary Fund | \$2,020.00       |                  |
| Press Security Fund                 | 455.00           | \$1,464.58       |
| Bazaar Fund                         | 990.00           | 888.20           |
| Christmas Box                       | 105.00           | 85.00            |
| Quinn Testimonial Fund              |                  | 265.00           |
|                                     | <hr/> \$3,570.00 | <hr/> \$2,702.78 |

The Party owes a debt of gratitude to these resourceful ladies — members and friends of the Party — who so indefatigably carry on the important work of raising funds for the WEEKLY PEOPLE, and at the same time turn their efforts into pleasant, social occasions for the participants.

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The financial reports of some of our Subdivisions are impressive documents, revealing substantial transactions during the fiscal year, and skillful handling of income and expenditures. Take, for example, Section Los Angeles, whose accounts are expertly handled by the financial secretary, Comrade Belle Rosen. The report for the calendar year of 1951 shows a total income for the year of \$4,446.28, with expenditures slightly in excess of that amount. The sources of income, and the purposes for which it was used, testify to the alertness and resourcefulness of this Section, and the imagination, sound judgment and devotion to our cause shown in expending the funds collected. The amounts collected and expended in this particular instance exceed those of the National Office prior to 1914, generally speaking. We have traveled a long distance since those otherwise halcyon days when the pace of the movement was somewhat slower, and concrete results somewhat less spectacular, if equally fruitful.

Similarly the financial reports received and recorded at the National Office from Subdivisions in general give a hint of their ability to raise funds, and their wisdom in expending them. The remittances sent to State Committees and/or the National Office are for the greater part impressive, though of course not all the Sections match the pace-setters. Topmost on the list in this respect is Section San Francisco, which during 1951 remitted to the S.E.C. and the National Office the total of \$2,730, in addition to substantial remittances to the Labor News and WEEKLY PEOPLE departments. Section New York is second with similar remittances totaling \$2,302. Third is Section Oakland with \$2,179; fourth, Section Wayne Co., Mich., \$1,834; fifth, Section Cook Co., \$1,616; sixth, Section Los Angeles, \$1,575; seventh, Section Milwaukee (National Office alone), \$1,276; eighth, Section Monroe Co. (Rochester, N.Y.), \$1,258; ninth, Section Philadelphia, \$1,219; tenth,

Section Pontiac, \$1,193; eleventh, Section Erie Co. (Buffalo, N.Y.), \$900; twelfth, Kings Co., N.Y., \$874; thirteenth, Everett, Wash., \$746; fourteenth, Washenaw Co., Mich., \$724; fifteenth, Boston, \$691; sixteenth, Rockford, Ill., \$689; seventeenth, Cumberland Co., N.J., \$667; eighteenth, St. Clair Co., Ill., \$654; nineteenth, Cleveland, \$626; twentieth, Bronx, \$575; twenty-first, Grays Harbor, Wash., \$557; twenty-second, Minneapolis, \$533; twenty-fourth, Portland, Ore., \$508; and many in the lower brackets.

The mere citing of these figures does not give a complete picture, especially as regards per capita contributions. Take, for example, (and including remittances only to S.E.C.'s and the National Office), Section Monroe Co., N.Y. — it has only four active, resident members. Its per capita is \$134. On the other hand, the per capita of Section New York (with a much larger membership) is \$48. However, it should not be overlooked that Section New York (and other Sections similarly situated) have local obligations dwarfing those of a small Section such as Monroe Co. Nevertheless, these smaller Sections do deserve special credit for the efforts they exert to help keep the organization off the financial rocks. Other small Sections in the Monroe Co. class (or slightly larger) are St. Clair Co., Ill., with a remittance per capita of \$93; Erie, Pa., \$210; Kansas City, Mo., \$76; Cumberland Co., N.J., \$111; Jamestown, N.Y., \$106; and so forth.

To be sure, devotion to principles is not to be measured wholly by degree of financial support. But it is mighty important since neither men nor movements can subsist and survive on air alone! The ideal would be, of course, to have fruitful agitational activities matched by financial support, as indeed is the case with a number of Sections.

#### ESTATES FUND

Bequests were received during the year from the estates of the late Comrades Theo. Weder of New York and S. A. Ellings of Seattle. The amount received from the Weder estate was \$1,371.45. Some minor complications developed in connection with the Ellings estate, but satisfactory settlement was ultimately achieved. The National Secretary had been made the personal beneficiary to the extent of three-tenths of the estate, under the terms of the will of Comrade Ellings, with the intention, of course, that the Party become the actual beneficiary. The amount received from the Ellings estate was \$4,702.20. A third veteran, Comrade H. Johanson of San Francisco, willed his net estate to Comrade Alan J. Keefe, with the understanding that the Party was to benefit. The amount received was \$239.54, designated for the Press Security and National Campaign Funds.

All three comrades had served the Party long and faithfully, and their last concern was with and for the Party, thus extending their devotion and thoughts beyond the grave.

Still pending is the Hurwitz estate. What is delaying settlement, we do not know.

Another estate which is still pending is that of the late Comrade John Frearson of Binghamton, N.Y. He made a bequest to the Party in his will, but unfortunately he did not follow the correct legal procedure, as repeatedly



explained in reports to the N.E.C., and otherwise. He made the Socialist Labor Party, as such, a legatee, but the S.L.P. (being an unincorporated body) cannot qualify as legatee under the laws of the state of New York—and probably other states. Hence, once again a loyal Party member has had his last wishes disregarded, and the Party has again been denied a substantial sum of money to which it would otherwise have been entitled.

It should be repeated and emphasized that there is simply no sense in members' designating the Party as a beneficiary of their estates if they do not execute their will as prescribed and legally required. This is a rather delicate matter to discuss, but it seems only common sense to heed the repeated warnings of the National Office with respect to the making out of wills in which the S.L.P. is designated as legatee. Full particulars on the proper wording of wills in which bequests are intended to be made to the S.L.P. can be secured from the National Office. Incidentally, the 1951 N.E.C. Session took cognizance of this unsatisfactory situation and by its instructions a letter (dated July 19, 1951) was sent to the Subdivisions (with a copy of "model will") directing the attention of the members to the proper procedure. Particular mention of the Frearson will was made in that letter.

### TAXES

During the year we paid to State and Federal Governments a total of \$8,425.51 in taxes. Of this amount employees of the Party paid \$6,455.78 and the Party itself \$1,969.73. On the face of it, it may seem ironical that the S.L.P. (which always contended, and correctly so, that the workers do not pay the taxes), must now remit taxes to the capitalist government. But as we know, nothing essential has changed, and the Party's contention as regards taxes is as valid as ever. For in point of fact, the taxes ostensibly paid by the workers are included in their cost-of-living estimates, with wages corresponding to these. The "take-home-pay" phrase certifies to the fact that, taxes or no taxes, all that the workers receive is a bare subsistence, and, as we know, often they have to struggle hard to secure that. What Frederick Engels said so long ago, still holds good: "Taxes!" he said, "a matter, to the capitalists of deep, to the workingmen, however, of slight concern. That which the workingmen pay in taxes goes, in the long run, into the value of labor power, and, accordingly, must be borne by the capitalists." The humiliating, the objectionable part, is that the Party in effect has to act as "tax-collector" for the government. But obviously circumstances leave us no choice.

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The Party is in debt to no one, the only liability being the amount represented by unexpired subscriptions.

### INTERFERENCES

#### WITH CIVIL LIBERTIES, CONSCRIPTION, Etc.

##### (A) Civil Liberties

(Leaflet Distribution, etc)

Party members suffered a good deal of interference in their legitimate

pursuit of Party activities, notably while distributing leaflets. The following are some instances that have come to the attention of the National Office since the 1951 N.E.C. Session:

#### *Los Angeles, California:*

On June 28, 1951, the Los Angeles *Herald-Express* reported that the City Council had passed a "Sedition Act," which, among others, included a provision that prohibited the distribution of leaflets, etc., "which [to quote the act] may reasonably tend to incite riot," etc. Upon investigation, however, it was found that the newspaper had indulged in "wishful reporting"; that no such ordinance had been passed and, indeed, no such ordinance had even been written! What had actually happened was that the city attorney had been ordered to draft such an ordinance modeled on a similar one in Glendale and Burbank, Calif. However, the matter was held up pending disposition of a court case on the Burbank ordinance. In any case, Section Los Angeles drafted a protest against the enactment of a law so loosely phrased, and obviously lending itself to discriminatory application. The Section's protest received some publicity.

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On May 13, 1951, a member of Section Los Angeles was stopped while distributing leaflets and directed to show identification, etc. In the course of questioning, the officer made remarks about "Communist" and "Communist literature." Three days later another member of the Section was similarly interrupted while distributing leaflets, asked to identify herself, and was harassed and interfered with by the police. The National Secretary advised the Section to write a strong letter of protest to the authorities in which, among other things, the point should be stressed that it is libelous to call one a "Communist" (if he or she is not one). Such a letter was sent and a few days later a police sergeant called at Section headquarters to apologize for the actions of the "overzealous rookie," promising that our members would not hereafter be molested.

#### *Oakland, California:*

On August 23, 1951, it was reported in an Oakland newspaper that two new ordinances were being considered which, among other things, would require that permits be obtained to hold meetings, and which would also make it possible for any police officer then and there to revoke such "license" at his discretion. The Section requested the National Office to register a protest, but it was suggested that the protest should come from the Section and/or the California S.E.C., though the National Office offered suggestions for the letter. Such a protest was sent and subsequently S.L.P. representatives were present and testified before two separate public hearings on the ordinances. Much favorable publicity was obtained, and because of the rather widespread protest against the ordinances, they were shelved, and nothing more has been heard about them. Comrades H. Steiner and Arthur Chenoweth, who represented the S.L.P. at the hearings, were both reported to have acquitted themselves excellently in presenting our opposition to the proposed, obviously unconstitutional ordinances.



### *Denver, Colorado:*

The case involving the assault by a hoodlum upon Comrade Alex Merson in Denver, in the summer of 1950, was still pending when the N.E.C. met in May, 1951. Comrade Merson had left Denver, and after waiting for some time for news of the outcome of the suit against his attacker, one Abrahamson, it was learned that the assailant had "disappeared," though the lawyer engaged by the Party reported that detectives had been trying to find him. The possibility of a nationwide search to find the hoodlum being rather remote, nothing further has been done in the matter, though presumably, if Abrahamson should return to Denver, he could still be served with the suit and made to pay for his unprovoked hoodlum attack on Comrade Merson.

### *Chicago, Illinois:*

On various occasions during the past year, individual policemen interfered with leaflet distributors in Chicago, despite the fact that the corporation counsel had unqualifiedly advised the commissioner of police and others of our constitutional right to distribute leaflets, etc. On May 31, for instance, four of our members were threatened with arrest if they did not cease their distribution. Inasmuch as they were practically out of leaflets at the time, they stopped. A protest was sent to the police, with the result that we were assured it would not happen again. Nevertheless, later in the year, when Comrade Alex Merson visited Chicago for leaflet distribution, he was interfered with on several occasions by the police. This time the State Secretary wrote a strong letter of protest, and again received the usual "assurances." Comrade Merson was not further interfered with.

### *South Bend, Indiana:*

This city has a local ordinance making it impossible to distribute leaflets. On his last visit to South Bend, Comrade Merson went to see the city solicitor, who was frank to admit that he thought the courts would rule the ordinance unconstitutional, adding, however, that until that was done, he would have no choice but to enforce the ordinance. On a previous visit, when the ordinance was first called to our attention, efforts were made to get a local member to submit to arrest, in order to make a test case. At that time no comrade was, and so far as is now known none is, available for this purpose.

### *Muskegon, Michigan:*

On October 19 three members of Section Washenaw Co. (out-of-town members residing in Muskegon) were stopped while distributing leaflets, on the pretext that they were littering the streets. The Michigan S.E.C. protested to the Muskegon chief of police, and although the latter's reply was not wholly satisfactory, the protest was apparently heeded, for no further interference has been reported.

### *Morristown, New Jersey:*

While distributing leaflets in Morristown, two of our members were stopped and told that a local ordinance requires distributors of such litera-

ture to obtain a license. A copy of the ordinance was sent to the National Office for action. While, of course, the ordinance is unquestionably unconstitutional, it is hardly likely that anything could be accomplished without a court case, a recourse (and expense) that seems hardly justified by the size and importance of Morristown. Because of the press of other important matters, no further action has been taken.

### *New York, N.Y.:*

Several apparently organized efforts were made to disrupt our outdoor meetings in Manhattan (New York), and despite numerous requests to precinct captains, adequate police coverage of the meetings was not forthcoming. Finally, on July 26, a letter was sent to the commissioner of police, with the result that immediate action was obtained—from the precinct captain! Though protesting his lack of manpower, and "regretting" that we had written the commissioner, he promised adequate police coverage of future meetings. With such adequate coverage by the police, there was no further difficulty.

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On July 30 two members (Si Merson and L. F. Guilloite) were distributing leaflets in front of Manhattan Center, where a National Maritime Union meeting was scheduled. They were there but a short time when three burly goons rushed out of the building, one of them assaulting Comrade Merson, punching his face. The two comrades managed to escape by sprinting a block or so, looking for a policeman. Finally, Comrade Merson went into a drugstore and phoned the police, securing the promise that a squad car would be along immediately. When Merson came out of the drugstore he found that the three goons had surrounded Comrade Guilloite, calling him names, etc. The same goon immediately struck Merson again, and pushed and slapped Comrade Guilloite, saying "In this case your age won't stop me." Finally the other two goons pulled the hoodlum away, and they left just before the squad car got there. Escorted by the police, Merson and Guilloite returned to the hall where one of the policemen insisted they wait while he went inside, though Merson suggested they should go in together. The policeman came out in a short while and suggested that they all go in together. By this time, the assailants could not be spotted in the crowded hall. Whereupon the policemen observed that there was nothing more that could be done.

Our comrades decided, after talking the matter over, to go to the station and register a complaint. When they got there and explained to the officer in charge what had happened, he asked them what they wished to do: Did they want to go back to the hall again and try to identify their attackers? This they decided to do, but once again they were unable to recognize the hoodlums in the crowd, and were hurried away by the patrolmen who were sent to accompany them. (It would seem that the policeman in the first instance went in alone to give the hoodlums a chance to get away. It is difficult otherwise to explain his insistence on entering alone.) A complaint, together



with descriptions of the union goons, was formally lodged with the police but, needless to say, no more has been heard about the matter.

#### *Erie, Pennsylvania:*

Comrade Frank Knotek, in pursuance of his constitutional rights and his duties as a member, undertook to mail copies of "Despotism on the March" to a number of persons on his mailing list, including persons whose names and addresses were obtained from letters to the press, the telephone directory, etc. Apparently on the complaint of an Ultramontane adherent, the superintendent of mails in Erie, one C. C. Deck, presumed to advise Comrade Knotek that the "magazine" was "subversive," and that he would have to stop mailing it! A letter was sent to Mr. Deck calling him to book for his high-handed attempt at censorship, a copy of the letter being mailed to the Erie postmaster, C. G. Schloss, as well as to the *Erie Dispatch*. The newspaper published parts of the letter, but the superintendent of mails simply ignored it, whereupon a follow-up letter was sent, this time to Postmaster Schloss. That worthy responded by asking Comrade Knotek for a copy of his mailing list. Another letter was sent to the postmaster demanding an apology. This was likewise ignored. A formal protest and complaint will be submitted to the Washington postal authorities.

#### *Wheeling, West Virginia:*

On July 19 Comrade Mehmet Burlakis of Section Steubenville was distributing "Despotism on the March" in Wheeling. He was stopped by the police and ordered out of town. The local newspaper carried a particularly flippant and derogatory news item on this unconstitutional interference with the right to distribute political literature. At the request of the Section, the National Office prepared a special letter and it was mailed to a thousand residents of Wheeling, along with a copy of the pamphlet. Copies of the letter and enclosure were also sent to city officials, newspapers, etc.

Later, when a vicious and stupid editorial attacking the pamphlet and the Party appeared in the *Steubenville Register* (local edition of a national Ultramontane publication), two thousand residents of Steubenville and vicinity received the special letter and copies of the pamphlet. There have been no further repercussions from this incident, except that the attention of several thousand people was called to the existence and activities of the S.L.P. and its program for a Socialist reconstruction of society. The incident calls to mind Goethe's sage observation:

"All those who oppose intellectual truths merely stir up the fire; the cinders fly about and set fire to that which else they had not touched."

The Steubenville Ultramontane sheet was not the only one which felt the sting of "Despotism on the March." This pamphlet seems to have "set fire" in a lot of dark places, smoking out the medieval owls, bats and rats!

#### **(B) Witch-hunt of Individual Members**

Individual members have been subjected to witch-hunting in circumstances where so-called loyalty oaths were invoked, or where federal employment was involved. There were four notable cases, those of Comrades Muriel Hain

of Section Everett, Wash., Mildred Fisher, national member-at-large, and Herman Johansen and Charles W. Turner, both of Section Portland, Oregon. As reported to the N.E.C. in May, 1951, the state of Washington passed a law requiring candidates for public office to sign a "loyalty oath" to the effect that they do not advocate governmental change, etc., by "revolution," etc. Under this same law teachers, etc., were also required to sign such an oath. Two of our members were affected by this law, namely, Comrades Muriel Hain, a librarian, and Mildred Fisher, a school teacher. Comrade Hain approached the American Civil Liberties Union to see about the possibility of support if she refused to sign the oath. Her experiences with these gentry were even more fantastic than usual: Not only did they insist on confusing the S.L.P. with the Trotskyites, etc., but it developed that one of the A.C.L.U. lawyers had actually been the author of the reactionary, unconstitutional law! In any event, Comrade Hain received no satisfaction whatever, and so far as the National Office has been informed, she did not sign the oath, nor has any action been taken against her. Comrade Fisher, on the other hand, did sign the oath, but appended thereto the following statement:

"In signing the statement that I am not a subversive person as defined in the Subversive Activities Act, I must make the following qualification:

"I believe in the American principle of the right to peaceful revolution as proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and as provided for through Article V of the Constitution of the United States. Unless the word 'revolution' is qualified by the adjective 'violent,' it means revolution by legal or constitutional means. Federal Judge Harold Medina, in the trial of the eleven leading American Stalinists, took pains to differentiate between revolution, as traditionally understood, and violent overthrow of the government by physical force. In his charge to the jury he warned:

"I charge you that the word 'revolution' in its broadest significance is generally used to designate a sweeping change; as applied to political change, it denotes a change in a method or system of government. It is frequently, *though not always*, accomplished by, or accompanied by violent acts, *but it need not be violent in its methods. It does not necessarily denote force or violence.*"

"It is my firm conviction that we have reached that stage in our historical development when no lasting good can be achieved through other than peaceful and civilized means, and I am proud that the Constitution provides such means for changing any or all of its laws whenever a majority of American citizens shall have decided to avail themselves of this right."

The statement was sent to the authorities along with the signed oath and nothing more was heard. Comrade Fisher has continued to be a teacher in the state of Washington.

In the National Secretary's report to the 1951 session of the N.E.C., the case of Comrade Charles W. Turner was briefly touched upon. Comrade Turner, at the time, was employed as a chemist on a government project. Malicious rumors and false charges had been made against him, and he was cited for investigation by the Regional Loyalty Board. The investigation resulted in a complete "clearance" of Comrade Turner. However, the witch-



hunters tried another tack. This time he was cited for violation of the Hatch Act, which forbids government employees to engage actively in politics, or (as it is sometimes designated) "partisan politics." He was found guilty of having violated the Hatch Act and Civil Service Rule IV. A penalty of ninety days' suspension (without pay) was imposed. The Civil Service Commission had the power to dismiss him, but voted unanimously to impose "the minimum penalty." Perhaps they feared to send too many cinders flying if they imposed the maximum penalty! However, Comrade Turner concluded that "the Civil Service Commission, in order to keep their own jobs and continue to draw \$15,000 per year from the federal treasury, had to prove their loyalty to the politicians who approved their appointment by doing everything they could to get me to resign."

As to the immediate question at issue, that is, the right of a federal employee to distribute S.L.P. leaflets, Comrade Turner feels that the decision in his case "has settled the question." Of course, such a question can not be said to be legally settled unless or until it has been settled in the courts. When he writes that "one experiment is more conclusive than a thousand theories," he speaks as the trained scientist. In concluding his report of the case, he observed:

"By questioning my loyalty, prying into my personal affairs, and punishing me, the Civil Service Commission has had to remove the mask of respectability it has worn for so long, and reveal itself as a true handmaid of reactionary plutocratic capitalism, ever willing to destroy our basic rights in a futile attempt to prevent the workers from studying the S.L.P. program. But no matter how hard the ruling class tries to suppress freedom of expression, the workers will find out about the S.L.P. program of peace, freedom, and abundance for all."

Comrade Turner has told the story of his "trials" at some length in the article he wrote for the WEEKLY PEOPLE, which was published in the issues of April 12, 19 and 26, 1952. Hence, the details need not be enumerated here. However, through his able and logical arguments, his refusal to cringe and his fearless defiance of the reaction, he has proved himself a credit to the S.L.P.

The other Oregon comrade who was subjected to inquisitorial investigation was Comrade Herman Johansen of Albany, Oregon, employed by the U.S. Bureau of Mines at Albany, an institution which—in the words of the investigator—"is of interest to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission." The questions asked of Comrade Johansen were the usual ones. There were no "charges," the investigation having been prompted merely by Comrade Johansen's frank statement in the routine questionnaire that he was a member of the Socialist Labor Party. The "investigator" (writing on the United States Atomic Energy Commission's letterhead) wanted to know why Comrade Johansen was a member of the S.L.P., the extent of his participation in the Party's work, the objectives he hoped to obtain through his S.L.P. membership, and his explanation of the distinction between the objectives of the S.L.P. and those of the Communist Party.

In a reply running through nearly seven single-spaced typewritten pages,

Comrade Johansen told the gentlemen "what for," leaving nothing to conjecture. It is an excellent statement, and, like that of Comrade Turner, carefully documented and calmly reasoned. Apparently the statement left the inquisitors without a come-back of any kind, and in due course Comrade Johansen received his "clearance." He observed: "As you will note, my reply to the A.E.C. constituted quite plain talk and I had rather expected the sack as a result of it. However, the clearance did come and frankly, I felt rather humble about it, not because of any particular esteem for the usually cowed 'Q' clearance, but because, of the many, many people who were questioned concerning my 'loyalty and risk,' there must not have been even one who didn't defend me, although not one could have been sympathetic to S.L.P. principles."

The courage and forthrightness of this comrade, like those of Comrade Turner, make one feel proud that they are members of the S.L.P. If the S.L.P. is a character builder, it is equally a powerful magnet for attracting men of character and principles.

### (C) Ballot Interferences

#### Illinois:

On June 14, 1951, the Illinois press reported the passage of the so-called "Broyles Anti-Red Bill." Our S.E.C. had sent no prior information about the proposed legislation and while the reported features of the bill were aimed directly at the Communist Party, we had reason to believe that it was the usual loosely drawn, unclear legislation that must inevitably affect our Party. Within a few days, however, reports were received that Governor Adlai Stevenson had vetoed the bill, and the veto message, considering the source, was a forthright and forceful rebuke to the reactionary forces that pushed the bill through. The Governor's veto was upheld by a scant margin in the legislature.

Less than a month later, however, Stevenson showed his true colors when he approved, in July, an amendment to the Illinois election laws, making it mandatory that circulators of nominating petitions must reside in the counties in which they gather signatures. This makes it virtually impossible for our Illinois comrades to place the S.L.P. ticket on the ballot in Illinois, as the requirements were extremely difficult even before the amendment was passed—a total of 25,000 signatures, with at least 200 in each of 50 different counties. This amendment was passed and signed by Governor Stevenson without publicity and without our Illinois comrades having had prior knowledge that it was being considered. Accordingly, no protest could be registered and our Illinois state convention had no choice but to decide on a write-in vote campaign. (The Trotskyites have instituted legal action to have the amendment set aside by the courts, and the A.C.L.U. has reported that it is supporting the suits. It has also been reported that the Progressive party will start legal action. Should these actions prove successful, our Illinois S.E.C. may take steps to place our ticket on the ballot.)

#### Indiana:

An "anti-subversive" act was passed in the Indiana legislature which,



like the Washington state law, outlawed political change by "revolution." Unfortunately, however, our Indiana comrades sent no word about the law until long after it had been passed on March 5, 1951. Accordingly, no protest could logically and effectively be made, and nothing could be done toward possibly forestalling action and/or removing the objectionable features of the law.

#### *Massachusetts:*

A bill similar to the Washington and Indiana laws was passed by the Massachusetts House of Representatives and on July 9 the Boston newspapers reported that the bill was up for consideration in the Senate. On September 25 the Massachusetts S.E.C. requested the National Office to draft a protest to be sent to the members of the Senate and the Governor. This was done and the letter was mailed on October 5. On October 25 the Boston *Globe* reported that an amended version of the bill had been passed in which the word "revolution" had been removed from the definition of a "subversive organization," thus making the bill inapplicable to the S.L.P.

Since this was the feature to which we specifically and emphatically objected, we have good cause to believe that our protest was effective. In part we stated in our protest:

"Believing in peaceful revolution... we must specifically protest against including the word 'revolution' as it appears in the bill in its present context, and without qualification. If the authors of the bill equate (erroneously) 'physical force and violence' with 'revolution,' then the word 'revolution' is redundant [or vice versa]. If, on the other hand, it is conceded that 'peaceful revolution' cannot be legally proscribed in this country, then the word 'revolution,' unqualified, should be stricken from the bill. In either case, the presence of the word is superfluous except for the purpose of mischief-making, causing confusion, and as a subterfuge for a still further opening of the doors to indiscriminate persecution and suppression of legal rights."

And concluding we declared:

"We are in a great national and world crisis. Passions are straining the bonds of reason, and the twin monsters, anarchy and despotism, are rearing their ugly heads. Reasonable men desire to resolve great crises in a civilized manner if at all possible. Crises are not resolved by suppression of facts or through repressive measures. It is in the American tradition to debate and settle issues at the ballot box. Let no one subvert or set aside this tradition."

Apparently there were enough legislators who perceived the danger in passing a bill which (if enacted into law) could, like a two-edged sword, be made to cut both ways.

#### *Missouri:*

In March, 1951, the so-called Hilsman Bill was introduced in the Missouri state legislature. Again the National Office drafted a protest which was sent to all the members of the state legislature by our St. Louis comrades. No action was taken on the proposed legislation at the spring session. In Septem-

ber the bill was reintroduced and on October 5 a new protest was sent to the legislators, the governor, the newspapers in the state, etc., etc. Among other things, we requested that a member of the S.L.P. be invited to present our views of the legislation at a public hearing.

On November 20, Comrade Clara Hayes appeared, and from all reports did herself and the Party great credit. Comrade Hayes herself reported that she was given a courteous hearing and that several of the representatives seemed considerably impressed with the Party's views and program. On January 22, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* reported that several amendments "liberalizing" the Hilsman Bill had been adopted. Among other things, the number of signatures required was reduced from 25,000 to approximately 16,000. For another thing, previous requirements that at least 100 signatures be obtained in each of 57 counties in the state were dropped.

At this point (on February 8) still another letter was sent to the members of the legislature expressing satisfaction with the progress thus far made in removing some of the more objectionable features of the Hilsman Bill, and urging that continued efforts be made to defeat it completely. On March 12 newspapers reported that the bill had been defeated in the House, though previously passed by the Senate. It failed to get the necessary majority of votes required for passage, as only 61 legislators voted in favor of the bill, and 30 against it, with 78 votes required for passage. A subsequent attempt to reconsider the bill was defeated in the House by a vote of 58 to 56.

The experiences in Massachusetts, and especially those in Missouri, show what can be done when prompt and vigorous action is taken against these reactionary measures. Our comrades everywhere should be ever alert and watchful for the introduction of such laws and report them promptly to the National Office.

#### *Ohio:*

The ballot situation in this state is now worse than ever. New amendments adopted in 1951 make it more difficult than ever to get on the ballot, with upward of 400,000 signatures required. However, in writing the new amendment, the Ohio politicians may have overreached themselves in one respect: The law is now written so as to preclude a write-in vote. This matter had been in some doubt but a letter to the Ohio Secretary of State brought the unequivocal reply that the Ohio election laws "make no provision for" write-in voting, nor do they "require" election officials to count such votes when citizens attempt to write in their preference for a candidate not on the ballot. The American Civil Liberties Union has been approached for support in contesting this abridgment of the franchise, which by previous court decisions appears to have been held unconstitutional. We are pressing the matter with the A.C.L.U., and it appears likely that court action will be taken.

#### *Pennsylvania:*

On December 20 the New York *Times* carried an article to the effect that the Communist party had been "outlawed" in Pennsylvania. The Na-



tional Office immediately sent the press clipping to the Pennsylvania S.E.C., suggesting that a copy of the bill be obtained to see whether and how the bill might affect us. Nothing was done about the matter, to our later regret, for when our petitions were filed in Harrisburg on March 10, this year, it was learned that under the law candidates for state office must sign "loyalty oaths" to the effect that they do not advocate "forcible or violent" overthrow of the government. Having received this information belatedly, we could take no action, and as a result our candidates for state office in Pennsylvania will not appear on the ballot this year.

#### (D) Conscription and Conscientious Objectors

Several of our members have been conscripted since the President plunged this country into war by pledging to assist the United Nations in resisting Stalinist aggression in Korea. As far as we know, only one member of the Party has suffered a penalty for refusing to serve in the armed forces. The comrade, Vincent Lamb of Section St. Louis, Mo., was arrested on May 24, 1951, for failure to appear for induction. On June 29, 1951, Comrade Lamb was sentenced to a three-year prison term for obeying the dictates of his conscience. Comrade Lamb is serving this sentence at the Medical Center at Springfield, Mo.

Comrade Falgier, who maintained contact with Comrade Lamb, did what he could to ameliorate his circumstances. Among other things he secured permission to mail the WEEKLY PEOPLE to him, on condition that it come direct from the publishers. We lost no time in mailing the paper to him, but to our surprise copies were returned to us as "undeliverable." Upon inquiry to the prison authorities, we were informed that "the WEEKLY PEOPLE is not approved by the Attorney General for admission to U.S. penal and correctional institutions." The letter concluded:

"The question is not one subject to local determination, and I cannot find any indication that we have advised you other than as above. I am sorry that you have been put to unnecessary inconvenience, and hope that we were not responsible for your misinformation."

Thus even this comfort was denied our imprisoned comrade.

By way of attempting to cheer Comrade Lamb somewhat, Comrade Walter Steinhilber induced his son (who, with his brother, served a prison term during World War II as a conscientious objector) to write a letter to Comrade Lamb. This, however, could not be sent to him, and so the letter was addressed to Comrade Falgier who, it was hoped, would convey its contents to Comrade Lamb. The letter is a splendid one, and it is reproduced here partly for the record, and partly for the comfort it may give others suffering a similar fate. Young Steinhilber is perhaps better known to us as the gifted artist who has contributed cartoons to the WEEKLY PEOPLE over the signature "Budd." The letter follows:

"Dear Comrade Falgier:

"September 26, 1951.

"During a recent visit with my parents in New York, at the suggestion of my Dad I took the liberty of reading several copies of correspondence

between Arnold Petersen and yourself in regard to the unfortunate circumstances surrounding the imprisonment of your friend and comrade, Vincent Lamb.

"Having myself faced and followed the arduous path of conscientious objection to war at the age of eighteen, during World War II, I think that I can fully share your concern for Vincent's welfare and mental comfort. I thought that by briefly reviewing some of my own first-hand impressions and experiences in a somewhat parallel situation, I might in some way lend moral support to Vincent's position.

"To begin with, I think that I should mention that I, like my brother who also refused induction, subscribe to no particular church or sect, but by reason of our Socialist training we were imbued with a sincere love for humanity, and believed strongly in a way of life dedicated to freedom and the brotherhood of mankind. What may be described as an inbred conviction of moral duty led me subsequently to claim conscientious objection to war on humanitarian grounds.

"I realized even then, as now, that whatever stand I might take against militarism, the intentional failure to comply with Selective Service decrees could only be regarded as a felony in the eyes of the court. Faced with the prospect of imprisonment, I knew that I must rely solely upon the dictates of my conscience as a guide for my actions. My decision led forthwith to two and one-half years of imprisonment and internment.

"Prison life is hard, in more ways than physically. I feel sure that no one who has not personally lived in the unique world of a prison cell can fully comprehend the overwhelming forces of anxiety, apathy, torment and disintegration that are constantly trying to gnaw away at the mental fiber of the prisoner. It is somewhat of an understatement to say that imprisonment does offer an ample opportunity to re-examine individual principles, as well as a rather supreme test of the strength and soundness of one's inner beliefs.

"As I said before, prison life is hard... but it is perhaps harder still, when you notice that in many instances, criminals who have defied society solely for personal gain receive more generous treatment than those who have ethically refused to participate in the immoral and devastating business of mass-murder known as war. The objector may regard himself, it seems, as a most dangerous criminal.

"At the time I was naturally concerned and disturbed by the social ostracism that might well face me when I was released. I knew that my position was not a particularly popular one. However, I was happily surprised to find that a great majority of my friends, while not necessarily agreeing with my beliefs, were convinced of my sincerity and respected me the more for it. I think the few friends that I did lose as a result only proved the shallowness of their friendship by this.

"Further, I found that my personal position in regard to employment did not suffer noticeably in the light of my imprisonment. In many ways I feel that it improved, for during the passage of three years' time I seemed to have matured measurably, thereby gaining an added measure of self-



confidence. I don't mean to imply that my own case is typical, for in all frankness I must mention that my employer, having a Quaker background, proved to be somewhat more sympathetic than most.

"In retrospect, however, I can honestly say that I am more certain than ever that I took the correct course. While it remains true that the choice is a narrow one—beating your head against the wall, or bowing it in complete submission—I somehow feel that taking a stand on this issue seemed to strengthen my personal conviction that I could in no way participate in war.

"Since then six years have passed, and I now have a fine wife and baby daughter. The latter I sincerely hope will grow up in a more sane and peaceful world which will know the violence and destructiveness of warfare only as a thing of the past. *We* know that this is possible only as soon as man throws off his shackles of ignorance and exploitation and becomes aware of the potentialities of brotherhood and cooperation. I know how hard it is for someone such as Vincent not to be able to take an active part in working toward that day, and I only wish that my encouragement could be greater and more concrete. I have little to offer but sympathy and I know that merely saying 'time is the healer of all things' is not enough. But perhaps just knowing that there are others who understand his plight will be of some help.

"Please feel free to recount all or parts of this letter, in whatever manner you choose, in your correspondence with Vincent."

Comrade Tandler of Section St. Louis, Mo., reported recently that it appeared reasonably certain that Comrade Lamb would be released this summer. We hope that this may prove to be the case, not alone for the sake of our 25-year-old comrade, but also for the sake of the Party. Our young comrade had been very active in the Section, and his removal was felt as a heavy loss. We can only hope that his experience has not unduly embittered him as Henry Weber was embittered, to the point of causing him to resign from the Party and renounce the principles which he had claimed were the grounds for his conscientious objections, and his subsequent imprisonment.

## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Experience from time to time brings into question the completeness or adequacy of certain provisions in the Party constitution. Having had several such experiences since the 22nd National Convention, and wishing to review carefully the constitution as a whole, the Sub-Committee of the National Executive Committee, at a regular meeting early in 1952, appointed a special committee to examine the constitution carefully, and submit recommendations for the consideration of the National Convention. At its regular meeting held March 13, 1952, the N.E.C. Sub-Committee approved the following recommendations of its committee, directing that the same be incorporated in the N.E.C. report to the convention:

### 1. Article II, Section 29 (c):

One of our Midwestern Sections had failed to cite an accused member to appear before the Grievance Committee on the ground that the guilt of

the accused was self-evident, and that anything the member under charges might say before the Grievance Committee would merely be repetitions of what she had said at Section meetings, and also because letters she had written to National Headquarters constituted overwhelming proof of the said accused person's unfitness for membership in the Party. To prevent a recurrence of such an incident, it is proposed that Article II, Section 29 (c) be amended to read:

"The Grievance Committee shall deliver a copy of the charges and specifications to the accused and shall proceed to investigate the case without unreasonable delay. The committee shall arrange a hearing at which the accused shall be cited to appear, and, at which witnesses of both sides may be heard. Testimony by non-members shall not be permitted."

*Comment:* The essential change here is the compulsion placed on the Grievance Committee to cite the accused to appear before it, so that to do so may no longer be left to the apparent discretion of the committee. While this duty of the committee has always been regarded as implicit in the proper constitutional procedure, it is felt that it should be made explicit and mandatory.

### 2. Article II, Section 34 (a):

In order to bring this section in line with the proposed amendment to Article II, Section 29 (c), it is proposed to change the wording of the section by amending as follows:

"Any member under charges who, *when* cited to appear before the Grievance Committee, either refuses to appear for trial, or fails to do so for reasons not made known, or not deemed valid, shall be considered in disruptive contempt of the Party, and declared guilty in default."

*Comment:* The change here is purely nominal and, as stated, proposed in order to make this section conform to the proposed amendment of Article II, Section 29 (c).

### 3. Article II, Section 40:

It is proposed to amend this section as follows:

"A person expelled from the Socialist Labor Party may be readmitted upon application properly made to the Section which expelled him or her, *providing his or her expulsion did not stipulate permanent unfitness for membership in the Socialist Labor Party.*" (The rest of the paragraph to remain unchanged.)

There have been cases in the past when an expelled person had been found afflicted with a degree of moral turpitude so great as to render it impossible to conceive of his or her eventual redemption, despite possible acknowledgments of error or pleas of renewed good intentions. The part added is designed to protect the Party against treachery by scheming and conspiring ex-members.

### Article IV, Section I:

As this section now reads, an individual member is appointed by the National Office to call for nominations for State Secretary (in a state where a new state organization is being formed), and this member, apparently, is the sole tabulator of the votes cast for this office; and the newly elected



State Secretary would apparently be the sole tabulator of the votes cast for the members of the new State Executive Committee. To remedy this deficiency, it is proposed that Article IV, Section I, be amended as follows:

"When in any state there are three Sections in three different towns or cities, the National Office shall initiate a move for effecting the formation of a State Organization to be known as the State Executive Committee by issuing a call to the Sections in the state to nominate a State Secretary. The N.E.C. shall thereupon submit the names of those nominated for a vote of the state membership. When the State Secretary is elected, he shall proceed to conduct the nominations and election of a State Executive Committee, the names of those nominated, and the votes cast for or against them to be submitted to the N.E.C. for tabulation and final approval."

#### Article V, Section 17:

This section in the Party's Constitution provides for membership of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee in the number of eleven. It is proposed to reduce this number to nine.

*Comment:* It has been found increasingly difficult to secure qualified membership for the N.E.C. Sub-Committee from the Subdivisions in the National Headquarters area. When Comrade Alex Rose resigned from the Sub-Committee last summer, it was not possible then to fill the vacancy, and for several months the Sub-Committee has worked with only ten members. It is felt that nine members constitute a sufficient number for carrying on the business of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee.

#### Article VII, Section 2:

In this section it is provided that each State and Language Federation shall be entitled to one delegate for every fifty members, and one additional delegate for a major fraction thereof, for representation from states and Federations at the Party's National Convention. Due to a greater diffusion of the members over a larger area of the country, the number of delegates to which certain states and Federations have hitherto been entitled has been decreased considerably, with the result that our national conventions have not had what would seem to be adequate representation of the membership as a whole at the conventions. It is therefore, proposed that this section be amended so as to entitle each state and Federation to one delegate for every thirty or thirty-five members, with one additional delegate for a major fraction thereof. It was felt that the convention itself should decide whether the basis should be thirty or thirty-five, assuming that the proposed amendment is adopted.

Article XII, Section 5, provides for the securing to the Party of all properties held in custody by the Language Federations by declaring them the property of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, etc. It is felt that this provision should be extended to cover all the Subdivisions of the Party. Hence, the following is proposed to be added as a section under the head of Miscellaneous:

"All equipments, including machinery, office equipment, real estate, and all other things of value, which are held in custody by State Executive Committees and Sections of the Socialist Labor Party, shall be the property of

the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, which at all times shall have full jurisdiction over such properties, as in the case of the Language Federations of the Party, without responsibility for any indebtedness incurred by the Federations, State Executive Committees and Sections."

*Comment:* This amendment was proposed by the N.E.C. in Session, May 1950. The question arose as a result of the acquisition of a small printing press by the Washington State Executive Committee. Though there never was any question about the Party's ownership of this press being disputed, it was nevertheless felt that in this case, as well as in similar situations that might arise in the future, the Party should be as fully protected as in the case of the Language Federations. Incidentally, this press is now held in the custody of the Michigan S. E.C., which is using it for Party work under the immediate supervision of Comrade Anthony Tuelsing, of Muskegon.

#### Article XIII, New Section:

It is suggested that a section be added under this Article making it mandatory that all internal Party matters involving censure or discipline be handled in executive session. This procedure is invariably followed, but there are several instances in which the Constitution does not specifically call for it, and it was thought advisable to close this loophole by adding the following after Section 5 (or make it sub-Section 5 (b)):

"Any question coming before a Subdivision dealing with matters involving the administering of censure or discipline, and all other internal Party matters, shall be handled in executive session."

### INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES

The Party experienced no serious internal disturbances during 1951. There were three expulsions, namely, R. D. Prather, by Section Grays Harbor, Wash.; Margaret Begovich, by Section Pontiac, Mich.; and George Yankoff, by the Detroit Bulgarian S.L.P. Branch. None of these was of any particular significance with the possible exception of Margaret Begovich. She had been the source of troubles for a number of years. There are reasonable grounds for suspecting that she was not wholly rational—certainly the letters she wrote the National Secretary and the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE were irrational, to say the least. When once again she violated Party discipline, at the same time slandering the Party and various Party members, Section Pontiac made short shrift of her case.

There were four resignations from the Party, namely, F. A. Miller and Helena Gemmer Collis, both of Section Oakland, Calif.; Carl Bjorklund of Section Passaic Co., N.J.; and Wm. J. Lorenz of Section Oneida Co., N.Y. Carl Bjorklund was the son of one of our old, loyal S.L.P. veterans, John Bjorklund, of Section Onondaga Co., N.Y., who died early in 1951. His proved to be one more case of the apple falling far from the old tree. Shortly after the war started he married a National Office employee (a Party member) who deserted the Party and an important Party post under particularly aggravating circumstances. Since then he remained completely inactive, but continued his membership, probably out of deference to his splendid father. When the elder Bjorklund died he lost little time in deserting the Party,



to which his father had given a long life of devoted and unselfish service. A wise man once wrote that the surviving of a father in his son is a pleasure scarce inferior to the hopes of the continuance of his own life. Carl Bjorklund denied his noble father that continuance.

## NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

We hope to carry on a vigorous campaign during the coming summer and fall months. Preliminary plans have been made for placing the Party's ticket on the ballot in as many states as possible. The extent to which we shall succeed in carrying through these plans depends, of course, primarily on the response of our members and sympathizers to our pleas for unstinted support of the National Campaign Fund. As you know, the N.E.C. issued a call for a \$200,000 fund, of which \$50,000 was to be collected by May 3. Only a little more than one-fourth has been collected as of this writing in late April. It is hoped that the banquet collection will round out the \$50,000.

Secondly, a successful carrying out of plans depends on availability of organizers and signature gatherers. As of now the prospect in this respect does not look too bright. Comrade Dallas Reynolds (who did effective ballot work in 1948) has been engaged for this work, and has already taken the necessary steps to insure our place on the ballot in his home state, New Mexico. Coming East (following a stop-off in Kentucky), he will commence "operations" in Connecticut in mid-May. It is expected that he will be able to cover two or three more New England states, and other states on the Atlantic seaboard. Time permitting, he will also assist some of the Midwestern states. Tentatively, the services of Comrade H. I. Hillis have been secured, conditioned on his being given leave of absence from his job. Comrade Al Merson will assist in western and midwestern states. This exhausts our "panel" for the present, except that Comrade Jeanette Reynolds may be able to join her husband later, and Mrs. Hillis is also available for New England work should the need arise. It is going to be hard and difficult work, considering our limited forces, and we shall certainly succeed only if the membership generally renders full and wholehearted cooperation.

We are assured of being on the ballot in the states of Massachusetts, Missouri and Washington, where the requirements are still simple. The following states have completed (or will have completed by convention time) signature gathering, and insured our ticket a place on the ballot: Michigan, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. We hope to qualify on the ballot in these additional states: Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, Rhode Island, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Write-in vote campaigns will be conducted in California, Illinois, Ohio and Oregon. In these four states the ballot requirements are so severe that it is physically impossible for the Party to gather the necessary signatures. In California we would have to secure approximately 385,000 signatures, and in Ohio the required number is approximately 434,000. In Illinois the election laws have become increasingly restrictive since 1948, the latest obstacle created being a requirement that signature gatherers must reside in the county in which signatures are gathered.

In Oregon the number of signatures required (though not nearly as large as in California and Ohio) is too high for our numerically weak organization in that state.

As in the past, our candidates for President and Vice President will be toured, though our present plan is to concentrate on the larger industrial cities, with fewer stops, and starting the tours somewhat later than in past campaigns. Definite plans can only be worked out after the National Convention.

It is, of course, planned to print millions of leaflets, advertising throw-aways, etc., etc., and possibly one or more pocket-size pamphlets in the style and format of "Despotism on the March." The problem in regard to the last mentioned is for someone to find time to write them. We shall, of course, endeavor to secure as much radio and television time as possible. As to television, this will necessarily be limited, since even "free" television time is exceedingly expensive, the charges running as high as (or higher than) \$500. All other possibilities for conducting an effective campaign will be exploited to the extent our resources permit.

## IN MEMORIAM

The scroll of those who have departed from our midst since the N.E.C. Session of 1951 is a long and a sad one. It includes some of our finest and some of our oldest veterans, but also some who died in the pride of their manhood and womanhood. Among the old veterans we note particularly such sturdy working class champions as William Woodhouse, British-born, but American Marxist to the core. From the far West we record the passing of Upton A. Upton and L. J. Francis, both of Oregon; Roy P. Trescott of Spokane, Wash., and faithful Oscar Johanson of San Francisco. No longer young, yet in the prime of life, faithful and devoted Vance Kazda of Tacoma, Wash., left us with seeming suddenness. In the Midwest we sustained grievous losses in the deaths of such tireless workers as Frank Allison of St. Clair Co., Ill., and Dr. O. Alfred Olson of Rockford, Ill.

The state of Pennsylvania suffered a heavy loss in the passing of gentle and lovable Emma Barnes, sister of revolutionists, and daughter of the late, lamented S.L.P. man, Grover C. Barnes, who preceded her in death by but a few months. And among the saddest losses we note that of Samuel Weatherford, organizer of Section Allegheny Co., and devoted husband of our Pennsylvania State Secretary, Comrade Wilda Weatherford. Sam Weatherford lost his life in a tragic accident, his death adding to the already heavy grief of the many times stricken Barnes-Weatherford families. In scarcely more than a year three members of this intensely devoted S.L.P. family met sudden and most untimely deaths, leaving Wilda Weatherford, daughter of Grover Barnes, and sister of Emma, to mourn them, bowed with sorrow, but undaunted in the spirit that sustains true De Leonists.

In the East we record the passing of such veterans as John White of Section Washington, D.C., Mike Bomstead of New Haven, Conn., David Craig of Section Boston, Patrick A. Murphy of Springfield, Mass., and George Abelson of Section Kings Co., N.Y. — all ripe in years, but young in spirit,



and ever unflinching in their adherence to Socialist principles. Octogenarian George Abelson is especially noteworthy in this group. A close personal friend of Daniel De Leon, whom he worshipped, he was the younger brother of the late Lazarus Abelson who was one of the triumvirate, De Leon-Kuhn-Abelson, that suffered the brunt of the battle against the 1899 traitors and renegades, holding the S.L.P. fort impregnable against the onslaught of the conspirators.

Others who left us were Andrew Franiu, an active member of our South Slavonian Federation, and for some years a member of the N.E.C. Subcommittee; John Noebe of Section Stark Co., Ohio; Mrs. Ethel Headrick of Section Salem, Ohio; O. G. Jacob of Section Akron, Ohio; O. D. Smith of Section Greensburg, Pa.; George Harr of Section St. Louis, Mo.; and John Korzynski of Section Passaic Co., N.J. And in the very prime of their useful lives we note with deep sadness the departure of Harold Churchward of Tacoma, Washington, and Bronko Papadopolos of Erie Co., N.Y. Harold Churchward, in early middle life, was one of our most active and promising members on the West Coast. Bronko Papadopolos, also in early middle life, keenminded and of powerful physique, died from an unsuspected organic defect of many years' standing. Yet he was for more than twenty years among the most aggressive and useful members of our Party, one not easily or soon to be forgotten.

Among sympathizers and former members must be recorded two who played important parts in the unfolding drama of S.L.P. history, both old in years, and rich in S.L.P. glory and honor, Bertha Canary De Leon and Paul Dinger. Paul Dinger, for many years a member of Section Wayne Co. (Detroit), Mich., was S. T. and L. A. delegate to the historic founding I.W.W. Convention that met at Chicago in 1905. He took an active part in the proceedings, and staunchly supported De Leon in his heroic struggle to launch the I.W.W. as a sound working class organization, and to keep it on the basis of the class struggle and in the spirit of Marxian Socialism. Having moved from Detroit, he allowed his membership to lapse, but his continuing support of the S.L.P. throughout the years testified to his unwavering adherence to its principles.

Bertha Canary De Leon, wife of the great De Leon, was the last remaining close link between the S.L.P. of today and that of the rather distant past. Though not a member, she never wavered in her devotion to the principles to which her illustrious husband had lent such distinction. At her death she was the only member of the De Leon family who remained faithful to these principles, the rest of the members of the family having "distinguished" themselves chiefly by their indifference or treason to De Leonism. To the very last she took a deep interest in the activities of the S.L.P. with an intensity of conviction that sprang from her deep understanding of the great issues at stake. The Party salutes the memory of this intrepid woman, and hails her as an exemplar of all that attaches to the distinguished name of De Leon.

The list of those who departed from our midst since the 1948 convention is a long and mournful one, and we are infinitely poorer for their having left us. Among them, in addition to those just recorded, we recall with sorrow

mingled with pride such names as Charles Mercer of Connecticut, W. W. Cox of St. Louis, M. Kowarsky of Brooklyn, D. Nickisch of New York, Tom Ballantyne of California, S. Moskowitz of New York, Fred Oelcher of Massachusetts, Ward Beckwith of Boston, and last but not least, A. L. Zimmerman of New York. These were pillars of the S.L.P. and their departure has unquestionably contributed to the decline in general membership activity. Yet, as each departed, pledges were solemnly given by the survivors to close the gaps and by increased individual efforts somehow to make up for the great losses. These pledges will be, *must* be kept, and in double and triple measure. For many of these fallen comrades did the work of two or three or more. Of them we can repeat, with justifiable pride, the words of Tennyson that, as with many others, they were—

"...Soldiers all day, and sentinels all thro' the night — ..."  
Ever [doing] the labor of fifty that had to be done by five..."

## CONCLUSION

(The material below has been issued separately as a pamphlet under the title, "Capitalism Is Doomed." For reasons of economy, it was deemed expedient to use the same type in this report.)

The streams of time have cast on history's shores many a social wreck, and many an unfulfilled dream. As we look back into the past we seem to see, as if reflected in a mirror, the same visions, the same struggles, and the same blasted hopes that have become almost the commonplaces of today. The superficial observer, perceiving the seemingly repetitive events of our times, may perhaps ask himself: What is the use of these struggles which, again and again, in the past, have met with inglorious defeat? But the seeming repetitions, the apparent sameness, are deceptive—the similarity lies in appearance only. While the relatively quiet past may have its echoes in our stormy present, these are, in fact, but the faint echoes of steps on an ascending stairway. And futile as the taking of these steps may have seemed at each particular point, in so far as immediate gains for the great masses were concerned, they were none the less necessary steps, for without them we should certainly not be where we are today.

We have reached that period in social evolution where the cumulative effects of the past threaten to overwhelm the present. The turmoil and confusion of today, and men's reaction to them, may resemble some-



what those of previous crises in history, and to the extent that they do so we may profit by the lessons imparted. But we shall be greatly deceived if we allow these superficial likenesses to blind us to the fact that we are now facing entirely new social phenomena. Marx underscored this fact when in his oft-quoted, celebrated phrase (paraphrasing Hegel) he observed that all historic facts and personages occur twice, once as tragedy, and again as farce. In the sense implied here, farce obviously means a distortion of that which it suggests, or superficially resembles. Hence, it is not the same, it is not an exact repetition.

The resemblance, however, is there, and some parallels between the present and the past do present themselves. These may be usefully applied to our present problems if we do not forget that they are merely patterns, to be enlarged and diversified, and that under similar stress and strain class interests and human nature will assert themselves similarly. The similarity of present to past social crises lies in the fact that once again mankind has reached a terminal in the progressive march of civilization. The present social crisis presents not merely the unsolved problems produced by the development of capitalism, of which it is the direct climax, but also all the unsolved problems of previous historic periods and crises, even as it presents us with the cumulative achievements of the past—achievements that were never lost, but were carried over and into the main stream of social evolution.

What is coming to a close with the collapse of capitalism is, then, not merely a particular social system, but a whole ethnic period which began with the collapsing ancient communal society. The foreshadowed society of Socialism will become the entrance-portals leading into that new ethnic period which will witness, as did ancient communism, mankind's enjoyment of true and unfettered liberty and unqualified universal fraternity, and in which the only "struggle" will be the clashing of ideas, with a resultant spiritual enrichment of the race. It is this fact—the fact that a whole ethnic period is coming to an end, and not just the termination of one more class-ridden society—that renders inadequate all theories and explanations based on seeming parallels

and superficial resemblances between the present and the past social crises.

However, aside from the larger implications, it is undeniably true that the present period has produced, and is producing, the same or similar manifestations as any other society in decay and on the brink of collapse. There is the same concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the few that occurred during the decline of the Roman Empire and the dissolution of the French monarchy. There is the same or a similar lapse in public and private morality, the same increase in crime and unbridled corruption, the same disregard for the welfare and happiness of the individual, despite hypocritical claims and pretenses to the contrary; there is the same mass discontent and ruling-class arrogance; and there are fears and superstitions similar to those manifested during the two previous great social upheavals and (to a lesser extent) during the flowering and decay of the Renaissance. These social disorders and manifestations of decay do testify to the rapid decline of capitalism, and point to its early and complete disintegration and inescapable doom, a doom from which not all the powers and resources of a decadent and socially criminal ruling class can save it.

The period preceding the French Revolution (being nearest to our times) offers many such striking and interesting parallels. As De Leon observed: "The French Revolution is an inexhaustible quarry." The French monarchy had become as utterly corrupt as it was socially useless, even as capitalism and the capitalist class have today. The nobility and the clergy, performing no useful functions, had become thoroughly rotten, steeped in filth and decay. And when a ruling class (as, for instance, our present capitalist class) has grown useless and corrupt, its doom is decreed and is as certain as the dropping of dead leaves from trees in autumn. The degree of corruption and the scandals of the French monarchy are challenged by the similar corruption and scandals now issuing out of Washington and other capitalist citadels, and which will continue to issue forth, no matter which political party is in power. There was in France, in the dithyrambic language of Carlyle, nothing "but starvation, falsehood, corruption



and the clam of death." The workers of today face similar falsehoods and corruption, and if in this country they are not all actually starving at the moment, it is because of no inherent virtue of capitalism, but rather because of its ultimate vice, war — *its* "clam of death."

As now, so then, apprehensive members of the ruling class sought to reform their decaying society—their rotten monarchy and the disintegrating feudal system of which it was the heart and symbol. "Reform if you would survive," cried Mirabeau to the corrupt nobles and clergy! "Reform if you would survive," Franklin Roosevelt pleaded with the idle capitalist class! But putting new clothes on a dying body does not save that body from impending early death.

In other respects one finds striking parallels between the crises of 1789 and 1952—with obvious qualifications in respect to social trends and institutions. Then, as now, powerful vested interests oppressed and exploited the mass of the people, though the present ruling class has acquired a somewhat improved technique for camouflaging the fleeing process. In most respects the opposition to the popular demands of 1789 was naked and brutal. With cunning born of experience, today's ruling class is able to frustrate such demands by making it appear that it is really doing something beneficial for the masses—with countless thousands of workers actually believing so! Then, as now, the ruling class (through supposed "friends of the people") conducted an effective propaganda, a propaganda of slander and falsehoods comparable to the slanders and falsehoods to which Socialism and Socialists (from Marx and De Leon down to the lowliest Socialist agitator) are subjected today. Then, as now, the mass of the people seemed apathetic and submissive, and some of those in the front lines in the battle for freedom became apprehensive and at times even discouraged at this seeming mass apathy, even as happens today. Indeed, this apparent mass apathy on the eve of a great social crisis is characteristic of all such periods in history, as are the doubts and pessimism of some of the thoughtful and leading elements in the forward looking movements. The classic example is that of

Ralph Waldo Emerson, one of the wisest Americans. In 1859 he wrote: "No man living will see the end of slavery." Six years later chattel slavery had been ended in this country.

Betrays of the revolutionary cause (by its supposed supporters as well as by agents of the old order) were common in 1789, as they are today. The Norman Thomas and Zig-Zag Foster counterparts were everywhere, sowing confusion, suspicion and discord. Just as today a venal press, an Ultramontane clique, and powerful combinations of industrialists spend money like water—or cajole, threaten and bribe—in order to corrupt the mass-mind and blind the workers to their true class interests, so in 1789 in France the nobility, the clergy and the financial bourgeoisie cajoled, threatened, bribed and corrupted in order to maintain their power, class privileges and wealth. A historian of the French Revolution wrote:

"In all these towns the anti-revolutionists joined hands. The rich had a thousand means—which the generality of the patriots, the revolutionists, did not possess—of moving about, of corresponding by means of special messengers, of hiding in chateaux, and of accumulating arms in them. The patriots no doubt corresponded with the Popular societies and the Paris Fraternities, with the Societies of the Indigent, as well as with the mother society of the Jacobins; but they were poor!"

It is not difficult to visualize what the situation would have been if the movies and radio had been in use then! In the experience of the S.L.P. today we have the answer!

Then as now the distribution of pamphlets and leaflets was an important means of reaching the people. Even in this country pamphleteering had become a commonplace, with Tom Paine as the outstanding pamphleteer. Our French Revolution historian wrote:

"Paris was devouring revolutionary pamphlets, of which ten, twelve, or twenty were published every day, and passed rapidly from the hands of those who could afford to buy them into those of the poorest."

All of official Europe was arrayed against the revolution, even as today capitalist officialdom the world



over is arrayed against Marxian Socialism. Edmund Burke (ironically enough the defender of rebellious America!) sneered and snarled slanderously at the French revolutionists even as his current, but inferior counterparts, the Peglers, Sokolskys & Co., sneer, snarl and spit their poison at Marxism and Marxists. Catherine II of Russia fumed and belched fire at at the revolution, pleading for a Caesar "to subdue them"—the ungodly revolutionists! Asking, and answering her own question, she wrote: "When will Caesar come? Oh, he will come, never fear. He will force himself to the front." And *there* was Bonaparte lurking in the shadows—poor, and as yet unknown. But he knew the tricks of the trade! For, like today's renegades, he was playing his role craftily. Biding his time, he posed as a revolutionist, as his wretched spiritual kinsmen of today, the Max Eastmans, Budenzes, Gitlows, Bohns, and the rest of the intellectual ragtag and bobtail have done and are doing. At this stage this incipient Caesar vied with the rest in would-be revolutionary ardor and the mouthing of revolutionary phrases. Barras, later a member of the Directory, wrote in his "Memoirs":

"Bonaparte showed me some copies of a pamphlet he had just written and printed at Avignon, asking permission to distribute them among the officers and even the soldiers of the republican army. Loaded with an enormous pack, he said to each while giving them out: 'One can see whether I am a patriot! Can a person be revolutionary enough? Marat and Robespierre, those are my saints!'"

Thus again the realization of the dream of the ages failed, as in the circumstances it had to fail. For the foundation of man's social and economic democracy was not yet laid, though it was taking shape even in the wake of disaster. Carlyle apostrophized the proletariat of France in these Old Testament terms:

"O Man of Toil, thy struggling and thy daring these long years of insurrection and tribulation, thou hast profited nothing by it, then? Thou consumest thy herring and water, in the blessed gold-red evening. O why was the Earth so beautiful, becrimsoned with dawn and twilight, if man's dealings with man were to make it a vale of scarcity, of tears, not even soft tears? De-

stroying of Bastilles, discomfiting of Brunswicks, fronting of Principalities and Powers, of Earth and Tophet [Hell], all that thou hast dared and endured,—it was for a Republic of the [corrupt and decadent] Cabarus Saloons? Patience; thou must have patience: the end is not yet."

No, the end was not yet come, nor even in sight. But now it is in sight—the beginning of the end of the long road of man's travail since the downfall of the ancient commune. Feudalism had a progressive successor in capitalism, the last class-ruled society in the forward march. Capitalism is now where feudalism stood in 1789, but with no class-ruled society as a possible *progressive* successor. Socialism is the legitimate heir of capitalism, but not of capitalism alone. It is the inheritor of the cumulative achievements of the long and mighty past, and it is so in a definitive, final sense. That is why there are not, and cannot be, exact parallels between the present and past social crises, despite superficial appearances to the contrary. The theory of exact parallels is a pernicious one, and it is fostered by propagandists in the plutocratic imperialist and Stalinist imperialist camps alike. Both draw crumbs of comfort from it: the plutocratic imperialists reason that *if* the fruits of the American Revolution are finally destroyed, and their so-called free-enterprise system gets completely bogged down, they can always count on the coming of the Caesar—the man on horseback. The Stalinists, on the other hand, having already acquired their sawdust Caesar, count on a prolonged rule of the bureaucratic State, although they profess to conceive of it as temporary. Thus they hope to safeguard, for at least their own lifetime, their individual vested interests in the static economy of their nascent feudo-industrial State.

Neither camp is seriously worried about the workers' taking over. Both camps may be proved right, in which case we shall witness an eventual merger of the two. It is the business of Marxists to prove them both wrong, and to leave no stone unturned to effect the ushering in of the nobler society reared on the principle of ancient communism, but on that infinitely higher level made possible by the phenomenal technological



advances of our day—the apolitical, state-less society of Socialism. In the words of De Leon:

“We shall either have Socialism—and that means that the State shall have vanished; or we shall have no Socialism.... Capitalism is not to be saved. If Socialism does not triumph now, then imperialism will seize upon our society, and establish a sort of feudo-capitalism that will set back the wheels of progress, and force freedom to start all over along some fresh path.”

That capitalism has definitely and irrevocably entered on the road to industrial feudalism is glaringly obvious to every Marxian Socialist. The signs of this trend are many and ominous. Among the most typical and menacing is the increasing dependence on the political State to settle industrial conflicts. While in specific instances powerful industrial groups may decry intervention by the State, collectively the plutocracy looks to the State for aid when in trouble. It was so in 1933 when President Roosevelt virtually seized the banks of the country (closing them), and subsequently, by pump-priming, started the capitalist economy functioning again, thus saving the system from shipwreck. It is when the political government fails to meet particular corporate demands, and seemingly lines up with the labor merchants, that the false cry of “Socialism” is sounded.

More and more the State is being loaded down with bureaus and commissions whose business it is, as agencies of the executive committee of the capitalist class, to adjudicate among warring capitalists, or to devise means of keeping the working class “in its place.” It is natural that the labor fakers should work hand in glove with the bureaucrats in such instances, since their personal interests depend upon their continuing as successful “labor merchants.” The term “labor statesman” has acquired a sinister meaning, but the term is as logical (under capitalism) as the somewhat older term “labor market.” Both designations would have been utterly unintelligible to the Revolutionary Fathers, a fact that measures the vast distance capitalism has traveled from its original revolutionary moorings.

So tremendous has been the growth of industry, so enormous the concentration of wealth and correspond-

ing corporate power, that the political clothes of capitalism are bursting in all their seams. Frequently, in fact, the political clothes are as non-existent as the “emperor’s new clothes” in the fairy tale. The patent fact is that the industrial empire has virtually replaced the political government—the industrial empire is the *de facto* government, the elected politicians having become mere agents and errand boys for the plutocratic rulers at the crack of whose whip they jump and do as they are bidden.

The concentration of industry is a fact that cannot be denied, however much servile “economists” may seek to explain it away. Interlocking directorates carry the concentration still further toward its ultimate consummation, which is monopoly. Under such circumstances, the familiar standbys of capitalism largely lose their meaning, or cease operating altogether. Within restricted fields the law of supply and demand may still exert its force, but in the larger fields it is virtually non-operative, having been partly superseded by agreements among the giant corporations and cartels, and partly replaced by government price controls. Wages also have been regulated more and more by wage stabilization boards, and what not.

We know that this is a logical development, given capitalist premises and rules. Yet this development toward what Frederick Engels called “the ideal personification of the total national capital”—or totalitarian capitalism as we might say in today’s terminology—is designated “Socialism” by the enemies of Marxian Socialism! They will persist in thus slandering Socialism, despite protests, despite logical demonstrations proving the contrary, despite the explicit language of the co-founder of Socialism, Frederick Engels, who tersely observed: “The more it [the State] proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit.”

The recent clash between the government and the steel industry over the wage dispute reveals industry as the *de facto* government and the political State as at best a junior partner. For despite the President’s bluster, it is a foregone conclusion that the steel indus-



try will gain its original objective of keeping real wages down, and raising the price to the point desired, which is not necessarily the point publicly demanded.

The incident has brought out fully the rawboned arrogance and brutality of the plutocracy. The Wage Stabilization Board had made its recommendation, and while this was not legally binding it was, and is, generally accepted as morally so. If, for instance, the decision had been favorable to the steel industry, and the unions had rejected the proposal of the board, can we not hear the howls of derision and screams of denunciation that would have been directed at the workers! They would have been accused of every crime on the calendar, including the familiar charge of murdering American soldiers at the front. The press would have praised the board, upheld the justice of its decision, and lauded its patriotism.

But this time the shoe appeared to be on the other foot, and the jackals of the capitalist press really let go at the workers, or rather, at the unions. Thousands of editorials assailed the board and the decision, and attacked the union representatives for—accepting the decision like nice, obedient labor lieutenants! Full-page advertisements have appeared in the country's leading newspapers, at a cost of thousands upon thousands of dollars, berating the President for taking over the steel industry, and carrying such headlines as "A Threat to American Freedom," "Stop!... the light is flashing RED for dictatorship," "An Appeal to Reason," etc., etc. A move to impeach the President has even been initiated! The president of the Inland Steel Co., a fellow named Randall, bought radio time and subjected the President of the United States to a barrage of billingsgate and threats that has scarcely ever been equaled in our history! Who is the master now—the government or the plutocracy? Silly question, of course—the answer is obvious.

The members of the Wage Stabilization Board who represent "the public" apparently forgot their duty—that is, they forgot that "the public" (in the lexicon of capitalism) is actually part and parcel of the ruling class, and as such should have voted with "industry." This disturbed plutocracy's chief journal, the New York

*Times*, no end. In its best Pecksniffian manner it sobbed:

"Unfortunately, the W.S.B.'s 'public' members, in the steel dispute at least, became just another mediation agency [!], which haggled with the parties and failed to keep an eye single to the stabilization function."! Tsk! Tsk! Tsk!

And so this capitalist spokesman disavows the "public members"—it even puts the word "public" in quotation marks, apparently now agreeing with the S.L.P. that "the public" is a myth, a humbug! Casting about for substitutes, it suggests that the board should perhaps be made up of "neutrals" only (isn't that what "the public" is supposed to be?), or that "an impartial person" should be appointed. One would have supposed that a "neutral" was, in fact, "impartial"! A plutocratic journal's lot is not always a happy one!

An interesting sidelight on the position of the steel magnates is the fact that they did not object to the W.S.B.'s consideration of the issue in the first place. It was not until they found themselves "cheated" that they howlingly protested. The tragic feature of the incident is that the workers were apparently satisfied with the decision, little realizing that the government's interest lies, not in supporting labor's demands, but in keeping the economy functioning in the interest of the larger capitalist objectives at stake. If the decision had been favorable to the steel industry, and if the workers had gone on strike after the government had seized the industry, and if they had then been drafted as "government employees," not a voice would have been raised in protest from the camp of the plutocracy, and none in that camp would have moved to impeach the President for having violated the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution!

The tendency toward naked absolutism in government is further indicated by the increasing dependence on the military in civilian affairs. Lately the term "soldier statesman" has come into use. Presently Eisenhower is represented as the ideal "soldier statesman" or "military diplomat." The role of "soldier statesman" in its prescribed field is as ominous as the role of "labor statesman" in *its* prescribed field. Both underscore the



fact that we are on the threshold of that dreaded industrial feudalism which threatens to become the logical alternative to the free society of Socialism. Hanson Baldwin, the New York *Times* military expert, wrote in his book, "Price of Power":

"With a surge of nationalism—which expresses itself sometimes in the feeling that 'America ought to rule the world,' we must hold to everything we got—has gone a new respect for our top military leaders and high civilian executives, which complements the latent demand for greater centralization of federal authority, and which has expressed itself in the form of political booms—'Eisenhower for President,' 'MacArthur for President,' 'Marshall for President.'"

In this trend toward the substitution of the military for the civilian authority we find added evidence to support the contention that this country is in real and imminent danger of becoming transformed into a military dictatorship, the logical complement of a feudocapitalist society. Eisenhower himself a few years ago advanced the soundest reasons for opposing the nomination of a soldier for the Presidency, eliminating himself then from consideration in this respect. Since then he has become a "soldier statesman" and tasted the sweet fruits of presidential preferment. By all present indications we shall probably have for President one who has been a militarist all his life, and who is completely dedicated to the feudo-plutocratic creed. America has indeed traveled far since the days of Jefferson and Madison. It was Jefferson who in 1789 wrote:

"There are instruments so dangerous to the rights of the nation, and which place them so totally at the mercy of their governors, that those governors, whether legislative or executive, should be restrained from keeping such instruments on foot, but in well-defined cases. Such an instrument is a standing army."

We not only have now such a "dangerous instrument," but we shall in all probability have for President a five-star general of that "dangerous instrument." Obedience to men rather than to law may henceforth come to be regarded as the patriotic duty of citizens. For, as Jefferson also wrote (in 1788), "the breaking

men to military discipline, is breaking their spirit to principles of passive obedience."

In the year 1889 Daniel De Leon wrote his famous essay, "The Voice of Madison." In this essay De Leon paid a tribute to the genius of Madison, whom he admired above all the revolutionary fathers. Quoting Marx on the genius of Aristotle in "discovering in the expression of the value of commodities the central truth of political economy," De Leon wrote:

"How much more brilliant and deserving of tribute the genius of Madison that enabled him to take so long a look ahead; calculate with such nicety the results of political and economic force; foresee with such great accuracy the great coming problem of our country, and state it with such clearness; weigh with such breadth of judgment the methods known to him in order to meet and solve it, and discard them, one after the other with such acumen; rise to such height of statesmanship by boldly declaring the problem could be dealt with in no way other than by adapting the laws and institutions of the country to the social changes that may take place; and, finally, commend the task to, and invoke for its performance, the wisdom of the future patriot."

De Leon concluded that the voice of Madison had reached our generation, and that there were those on hand who would heed it and perform the wise and necessary act.

It is now sixty-three years since De Leon paid his tribute to the genius of Madison. He went on from there to translate into action the words he re-echoed on that occasion so long ago. Like Madison in his generation, so De Leon in his fully rose to the need of the hour and the demands of the time. And, like Madison's, his brilliant genius enabled him to take that long look ahead, to calculate with nicety the results of the economic forces at work, to foresee with accuracy the great problem now confronting us, to state it with clearness, to weigh with breadth of judgment the methods required to meet it and solve it, and with acumen to discard one after the other the apparent solutions that presented themselves to him, until finally the nature of the problem was perfectly understood by him, the goal



thoroughly clarified in his mind, and the methods for achieving it fully tested by him in the "social laboratory."

On this centennial commemoration of De Leon's birth, it is right and fitting that we should pay this tribute to the great Social Architect of our generation. It is fitting that we should appraise his genius, set forth in bold relief the services he rendered the working class and ultimately humanity at large, and reflect admiringly on his prescience, his devotion to principle, and his tireless perseverance. Above all, his prescience, which is the special faculty of the scientist, commands our attention and compels our admiration. It was of such a man that Shakespeare sang in one of his plays:

"... A man may prophesy,  
With a near aim, of the main chance of things  
As yet not come to life, which in their seeds  
And weak beginnings lie intreaured.  
Such things become *the hatch and brood of time.*"

De Leon's analysis of the economic forces at work has been proved correct again and again. The conclusions he drew from his penetrating study of the *genus* labor faker have been completely vindicated. His prognosis of the menacing tendency toward industrial feudalism has been confirmed, and with a vengeance. His conception of the Industrial Union Government, with its occupational basis, as the next higher social stage, to take the place of the outmoded political State, deriving from territory, has met every test and every challenge with facts and logical reasoning. In all these respects De Leon towers alongside Marx and the greatest thinkers of the ages, and we hail him as the supreme Master Builder. As Lewis Morgan said of the ancient Greek state builder Cleisthenes, so we say of De Leon and his achievement: "This discovery stands as the master work of a mastermind."

Born one hundred years ago, Daniel De Leon breathed his last thirty-eight years ago, in the month of May. His untimely death left unsaid and unwritten much that would have guided us today even better than we are now guided by our heritage from him. He had

hoped to see the day when the edifice of Socialism would rise shelteringly over a happy race of men. But that boon and joy were denied him. Even so, we sense that he was resigned to the possibility of having to share the fate of Moses who could only view "the promised land" from the summit of Mount Pisgah. There seems to be an indication of this in the editorial he wrote on the occasion of the death of August Bebel, in which he included a fraction of an essay by an unknown author. The essay is entitled "To the Noble-men of the Human Race," and from it De Leon quoted these poignant lines:

"He had been used to feel humanely, and to look upon life more widely than from the narrow loophole of personal pleasure and advancement.... He had long been used to wait with interest the issue of events in which his own concern was nothing.... There remained unaltered all the disinterested hopes for mankind and a better future which were the solace and inspiration of his life. These he set beyond the reach of any fate that only menaced himself; and it made small difference whether he died before the good epoch for which he so faithfully labored. He did not deceive himself; he knew from the beginning that he followed the pillar of fire and cloud, only to perish himself in the wilderness, and it was reserved for others to enter joyfully into possession of the land."

These words, beautifully conceived and beautifully expressed, might well be inscribed on the mausoleum which one day, under the aegis of the Socialist Republic, shall house his dust.

Faternally submitted,  
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,  
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY,

Arnold Petersen,  
National Secretary.



## REPORT OF THE EDITOR

To the Delegates of the 1952 National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party.

Greetings:

In his last report to a National Convention (in 1912) De Leon observed quite accurately that "The National Editorial Department should need to make no convention report. The Party's national organ, being a daily paper, carries with it a report made from day to day. The manner in which the National Editor performs his functions is daily spread before the membership."

Except that our national organ is now a weekly paper, hence carries the Editor's report from week to week instead of from day to day, De Leon's observation is just as valid now as it was forty years ago. All diligent readers of the *WEEKLY PEOPLE*—and all S.L.P. members are morally obliged to be in this category—are familiar with the manner in which the present Editor performs his functions.

Nevertheless, this being the De Leon Centennial year, it seems appropriate to say a word about our past efforts and our future plans for making our official English organ an ever more effective voice of De Leonism.

There is, first of all, our constant effort to conduct the paper strictly on the unique plan originated by De Leon, i.e., the plan to keep purely theoretic essays at a minimum, and to teach Socialism by weaving the theory of Socialism into the events of the day.

Also in keeping with this plan we have sought in various ways, but avoiding pedantry, to acquaint our readers with the technical terminology of Socialism. As De Leon put it, "The language of the constructive and revolutionary Socialist movement, by familiarizing the readers with technical terms, imparts accurate conceptions and thereby a habit of accuracy in thought and diction, all of which are essential for constructive work."

It is, I think, a significant fact that more than half a century after De Leon developed his unique concept of Socialist journalism, the press of the Socialist Labor Party remains its sole practitioner. It signifies, first of all, that the S.L.P. is still alone in its Marxist confidence in the capacity of the working class to emancipate itself. All other parties and groups claiming to be Socialist reject the educational approach of De Leonism. Instead they resort to a variety of tricks for "roping in" the workers, on the theory that they must organize the workers first and educate them afterward.

In a brilliant 1909 *Daily People* editorial, De Leon explained the fallacy of this approach. He said:

"Do not, on your life, organize first and educate afterwards; educate first and organize afterwards. Such has been the baneful effect of pure and simple policy that, if you organize first, then one of two things will happen—  
"Either the leaden weight of pure and simplicity will be too heavy to overcome, and relapse will be certain;

"Or, lightweighters are sure to turn up at the top, like small potatoes in

a shaken barrel, and adding to the fatuousness of pure and simplicity that they bring along, the vainglory which comes from a glimmer of freshly acquired and undigested knowledge, they will fly off the handle.

"In either case disaster, not unaccompanied with corruption."

Our De Leon Centennial year plans include a year-long series of "De Leon Centennial Features," which will focus attention specifically on the contributions of the Socialist Labor Party's own most distinguished son. We are also trying in every way we know to encourage a general rereading of the published works of De Leon. In addition, we have undertaken a week by week reading of all of De Leon's editorials, with the result that we are making more and more "new" rich finds that are subsequently reprinted in current issues.

Now, a word about our *WEEKLY PEOPLE* features. Since the 1948 National Convention we have discontinued the column "Post-War World," for reasons that are obvious. In its place we have started a new column, "Capitalist Carousel," that has substantially the same character. We have also started an "Agitator's Notebook" column, which ran originally in alternation with "Sowing Seeds Abroad." However, since the untimely death of Comrade Theodore Weder, who originated it, we have not been able to publish the latter column with regularity. Now, however, there are prospects that this column, which in the past was so stimulating and informative, may be resumed.

There is just one point that I should like to bring before this convention for possible action. It concerns the melancholy business of the publication of "In Memoriam" notices in the *WEEKLY PEOPLE*.

When an S.L.P. member dies, the obituary should appear in a very early issue of the *WEEKLY PEOPLE*. But before we can print such an obituary we must have the information concerning the member, i.e., his age, length of membership in the Party, where he joined, the kind of work he did, his record as a Socialist, etc., etc. Logically, this information, together with the facts concerning the funeral, should come from the Section organizer, along with a resolution by the Section.

If a photograph is available, that too should be forwarded without delay and without waiting for the National Office to make a request.

As things are, it is not uncommon for "In Memoriam" notices to appear months after the deceased comrade has passed away. Occasionally, space problems in the paper may cause a brief delay, but nearly always delayed publication of notice is due to negligence on the part of those whose duty it is to gather and convey the facts. I think that, out of respect for our dead and for their surviving relatives too, everything should be done to facilitate the publication of these "In Memoriam" tributes. I recommend that the subdivisions be urged to handle these sad duties with greater dispatch. Apart from this, as I stated at the outset, the *PEOPLE* itself carries a weekly report of the Editor. All I can add is that it is a great privilege to be entrusted with this post.

ERIC HASS, Editor  
*WEEKLY PEOPLE*



## APPENDIX

### Platform of the Socialist Labor Party

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America, in National Convention assembled on this 4th day of May, 1952, reaffirms its previous platform pronouncements and declares:

The crisis that shakes the world today is a revolutionary crisis. It is one of those crucial turning points of history when an outmoded system is in a state of impending collapse, and a new order is waiting to be born.

The capitalist system rose on the ruins of feudalism—in this country on the transplanted feudal power of the British Crown. It had a mission to perform, the mission of establishing mass production and of organizing the workers in industry in keeping with that purpose. Its mission has been fulfilled: Abundance is now possible for all without arduous toil. But in fulfilling its historic mission the capitalist class has rendered itself useless—nay worse, it has become an encumbrance on the productive process, an incubus on society as a whole, and its continued presence as a useless class has become a menace to our very civilization.

Accordingly, the downfall of the capitalist system is certain. It is foredoomed by contradictions resulting from the division of society into classes and the exploitation of wage labor. Its economy is kept

going today by rearmament and the waging of war. Without this huge, war-inciting multi-billion-dollar war-preparations program, capitalism would quickly sink in a quagmire of economic depression.

This is a permanent condition. The plutocratic rulers are committed to a permanent arms economy. In order to stave off the threatened economic breakdown, they are compelled to build and amass ever more military weapons and supplies, thereby accelerating the forces, *inherent in capitalist rivalry for world trade*, that are leading fatedly to a third world war.

Thus, decadent capitalism has brought society to the brink of catastrophe and ruin. The question now is: *Shall this doomed system be allowed to drag humanity down into the abyss? Or will the working class, in whose hands the future lies, wake up in time, organize its immense latent power, and put society on the road to safety and freedom?*

The Socialist Labor Party declares that such is the crucial nature of the crisis that grips our civilization.

The plutocratic capitalists are confused, intellectually bankrupt and divided among themselves. Although they still pay lip-service to the American tradition of civilian government, in practice they have renounced this tradition and have given professional military men a dominant role in formulating for-

eign and domestic policy.

The Korean war, a senseless war to all but the capitalist and Russian imperialist interests that profit from it, is a tragic consequence of ruling-class confusion and the military approach in international relations.

The frequent demands by high military leaders, and even by Cabinet members, that the United States abandon its moral scruples against "striking the first (sneak attack) blow," and that the country become the aggressor in a "preventive war" with Russia, are frightening evidence of the panic that is overtaking the American ruling class.

The Socialist Labor Party asserts that the ferocious conflict that divides the world and threatens to hurl mankind into the fiery furnace of global war is an imperialist conflict. It is basically a struggle between the plutocratic masters of the United States and the bureaucratic masters of Soviet Russia for control of the world's economic resources. Both these ruling groups must share the guilt for the appalling danger of extinction today threatening the human race.

Let no one underestimate the danger. A third world war would be an atomic war, a war of universal desolation. The Socialist Labor Party holds that peace today hangs only by a thread of fear. For the moment both imperialist rivals are deterred by the atomic bomb—the knowledge that if either attacks the other, retaliation will be swift and terrible.

In this revolutionary crisis the class struggle is becoming more

intense.

The plutocratic capitalists sit uneasily on their mountains of stolen wealth. To secure their class privileges and to weaken the workers' resistance to increased exploitation, they have enacted the labor-shackling Taft-Hartley Law and revived the medieval weapon of the court injunction.

It is an incontestable fact that the workers are steadily falling behind in the race with living costs, which means, in effect, that their real wages, hence their standards of living, are being steadily reduced. By means of a wage freeze, restrictions on the right to strike and the regimentation of the workers that is accomplished through the faker-controlled, job-trust unions, the American worker is being reduced to the status of an unresisting industrial serf. Thus a new form of slavery is evolving, more in keeping with the despotic needs of the present huge concentrations of corporate capital.

By means of falsehoods and smears, whipped-up hysteria, witch-hunts and loyalty oaths, the capitalist plutocrats are attacking the very heart of American political democracy. They are imposing a "black silence of fear" on millions of once proudly independent and fearlessly outspoken Americans.

The Socialist Labor Party declares that the real target of this un-American attack is not the Communists, but the fundamental rights and civil liberties of the American people. The Communists are merely a convenient and vulnerable target. It has been said, not without logic, that if there



were no Communist party in America, the capitalist reaction would organize one.

The assault on liberty and the attempted Prussianization of the country via permanent compulsory military training are, we assert, desperate efforts to prolong an outmoded and foredoomed social system.

The Socialist Labor Party appeals to you to accept the logic of these facts:

**WAR, FASCISM, EXPLOITATION, AND POVERTY AMIDST PLENTY ARE THE EVIL BROOD OF CAPITALISM.** No person who reaches this conclusion can, without consciously aligning himself with the forces of reaction, support candidates and parties that have as their aim the reform or preservation of capitalism. In this category, besides the Republicans and Democrats, we include all other parties, whatever their designation. For, one and all they follow principles of capitalism or of State despotism. One and all they preach reforms and promise improvement of conditions that are past improving. To propose reform when a fundamental social change is called for is to help prolong the capitalist cause of war, fascism and working-class exploitation. "To reform is to preserve."

The Socialist Labor Party, therefore, calls upon the American workers of brain and brawn, and all other enlightened citizens, to repudiate the parties of capitalism and to support its program for a peaceful and orderly Socialist reconstruction of society.

The Socialist Labor Party pro-

gram, in line with social evolution, demands the abolition of the political State with all its organs of class coercion. Political government (based on geographic constituencies), which was suited to an age of agriculture and primitive production, has been rendered obsolete by the growth of modern industry. The goal of the Socialist Labor Party is a democratic Socialist industrial government—a society based on collective ownership of the land and all the instruments of wealth production, with the management of industry completely in the hands of the workers through socially integrated Socialist Industrial Union Councils.

To bring to birth this society of peace, abundance and freedom, the Socialist Labor Party appeals to the working class of America, and all other enlightened and social-minded citizens, to support its principles at the polls by voting for Socialist Labor Party candidates. And we call upon the workers to repudiate the present unions, which accept capitalism as a finality and are faker-controlled, and to build a new union based squarely on their working class interests and with Socialism as its goal. Build the integral Socialist Industrial Union, as the only union capable of enforcing the Socialist ballot and of assuming the administration of social production.

This program repudiates the kind of bureaucratic despotism masquerading as "Marxist" in Soviet Russia, and the reformist outfits, such as the British Labor party, falsely claiming to be "Socialist."

\*

What Abraham Lincoln said ninety years ago, in the midst of another revolutionary crisis, applies with even greater force today. He said: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate for the stormy present.... As our case is new, so must we think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country."

*Unite with us to save society from catastrophe—and to set an example in free, industrial self-government for all mankind! Unite with us to establish the Socialist Republic of Peace, Plenty and International Brotherhood!*

## Resolution on the De Leon Centennial

Nineteen fifty-two is the centennial anniversary of the birth of Daniel De Leon, foremost Socialist of the twentieth century, discoverer of the social form of Socialist administration and worthy compeer of the founders of scientific Socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

As we approach the arduous tasks and the stern trials that face us in this Presidential campaign year, the Socialist Labor Party, in National Convention assembled, pauses to reflect on the heritage De Leon has left us.

When he entered the working class movement in 1889, De Leon found it confused and vague as to both tactics and goal. When he died a quarter of a century later, he left the movement equipped with a workable program for effecting a Socialist reconstruction of society in an industrialized na-

tion, and with a clearly defined concept of the Socialist goal.

The cause of working class emancipation became the supreme and overriding purpose of De Leon's life, and he gave himself and his great genius completely and without reserve to this purpose. He turned his back on the wealth, power and brilliant career that he might have had in the capitalist world, exchanging these without regret for the life of poverty to which his chosen role of proletarian champion condemned him.

De Leon played the major role in forging the Socialist Labor Party into an organization of coherence, integrity and Socialist vigor, an organization, in De Leon's own words, that is "fearless, merciless in its logic, intolerant as science, narrow as truth alone can be," and uncompromising in its adherence to Socialist principle and to the cause of international working class emancipation.

Profoundly conscious of the rich heritage De Leon has left the working class, and inspired by the example of his devotion to our cause, the Socialist Labor Party pledges to face with renewed courage and determination the rigors and hazards that lie ahead.

Therefore, be it hereby

*Resolved*, That we commemorate this De Leon Centennial Anniversary by conducting a campaign that is in every respect worthy of the memory of this great Socialist pathfinder and working class champion; and be it further

*Resolved*, That we call upon S.L.P. men and women everywhere to



turn their backs firmly on the pleasures and trivia that too often are the cause of neglect of Party work, and on the corrupting influences of capitalist materialism generally, and to strive to emulate De Leon in the zeal with which they undertake the tasks of the campaign; and be it finally

*Resolved*, That individually and collectively we strive to make known the name and achievements of De Leon among our fellow workers, and urge them to speed their organization as a class and the building of the Socialist Republic of Free and Affluent Labor. By every means at our disposal we pledge ourselves to echo De Leon's ringing battlecry to the working class:

"Unite! Unite on the economic field upon the only basis that economic unity is possible—the basis of the solidarity of the working class, the only solid fact from which political unity can be reflected! Unite! Unite upon the only economic principle capable of backing up the right of the labor ballot with the might to enforce it! Unite for the general strike at the ballot box, to overthrow the political robberburg of capitalism, backed by the general strike against, or, rather, the general lockout of the capitalist class from the industrial fields that it has usurped. Unite for the emancipation of the working class, and to save civilization from a catastrophe!"

## Resolution on Racism

The Socialist Labor Party, in National Convention assembled on

this 5th day of May, 1952, declares there is no solution for the race problem under capitalism.

In fact, evidence abounds that virulent racism is rising in America. For example, in Cicero, Illinois, the entire white community, including the police, rioted and used violence to prevent a Negro family from moving into a "Jillywhite" neighborhood. In Cairo, Illinois, a veritable campaign of terror was launched against Negroes of the community to enforce illegal race segregation in the public schools. In Florida, a series of bombings and race murders culminated in the cowardly murder of Dr. Harry T. Moore, a militant Negro leader, and his wife Harriet.

Nor are Negroes the only victims. Americans of Oriental and Mexican descent, Puerto Ricans and others, including Jewish people, have been frequent targets of virulent racism. Indeed, so flagrant have been the recent attacks on Jews that early this year United States Senator Wayne Morse declared that "only the naive can believe that anti-Semitism is on the decline in the United States," adding that "The U.S. Congress is riddled with anti-Semitism."

Taking cognizance of these ominous events, and basing its analysis on a thoroughgoing study of social forces, the Socialist Labor Party declares racism to be the logical fruit of the strife-breeding capitalist system. We hold that property interests, fear and insecurity make the social soil hospitable to the poisonous race-prejudice seed, and that politicians and professional race-hate-mongers, in

league with privileged property interests, sow prejudice in order to divide the workers. Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Socialist Labor Party reaffirm its stand that the so-called race question is in fact an aspect of the social question, and that the fundamental division in society is along class lines, with the exploited workers of all colors and nationalities aligned on one side and the exploiting capitalists of all colors and nationalities on the other. And be it further

*Resolved*, That we warn our fellow workers not to allow themselves to be divided on racial lines by capitalist-inspired appeals to prejudice and nationalism, nor allow their energies to be wasted in vain efforts to establish racial equality in a class-ruled society, where racial equality is impossible; and be it finally

*Resolved*, That we appeal to the workers of all races to join with the Socialist Labor Party in its efforts to bring to a speedy end this criminal capitalist system and to create the economic and social conditions for freedom, equality and universal brotherhood, by establishing the free society of Socialism, thereby eliminating the cause of racial distinctions.

## Resolution on the Economic Organization of Labor

The 23rd National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of America, in session in the City of New York, May 5, 1952, reaffirms the Party's previous stand on the question of the economic organization

of labor, and repeats its declaration that the Socialist Industrial Union is the means through which the working class can achieve its freedom.

Furthermore, the integrally organized Industrial Union of the working class forms the necessary framework of the Socialist Industrial Republic of Labor, and constitutes the organic form of the Socialist administrative powers of the new society.

The economic organization, or Socialist Industrial Union, is the revolutionary might whereby the working class, on the occasion of its victory at the polls, can take physical possession of, hold and operate the factories, mills, mines and all other means of social production and distribution, thus assuring the triumph of the Socialist Revolution and frustrating a conceivable "pro-slavery" rebellion on the part of the outvoted capitalist class.

The present so-called unions—the American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, and kindred organizations—are committed to perpetuate the wage system and deny the existence of the class struggle by accepting the false precept of "brotherhood between capital and labor." Collective bargaining agreements, which inevitably sell out the workers, are a logical result of this denial.

Such pro-capitalist organizations, far from being working class unions, are veritable job trusts in the complete control of a gang of labor fakers. Therefore be it *Resolved*, That the movement for



working-class emancipation needs both a political and an economic organization, the political organization to agitate, educate and conduct the struggle for the conquest of the capitalist-controlled political State, using the ballot; the industrial organization to back up the Socialist ballot with the requisite economic power, a power essential for the lockout of the capitalist class, should that class attempt to defy the mandate expressed at the ballot box; and be it further

*Resolved*, That we call upon the workers to build the Socialist Industrial Union to accomplish the Socialist reconstruction before the reaction now gathering force plunges society into a new dark ages of perpetual war and industrial feudalism; and be it finally

*Resolved*, That we denounce and expose pro-capitalist unionism as an instrument to divide and hog-tie the working class, thereby preventing it from uniting on its class interests for the abolition of wage slavery.

## **Resolution on the International Situation and International Socialism**

As the Socialist Labor Party meets in its 23rd National Convention, the world is nearing the climax of one of the supreme crises of history. It is a revolutionary crisis. The old, outmoded capitalist system is in a state of impending collapse. The next higher social system—Socialism—is awaiting birth.

In this crisis, when the ruling

classes of the various countries are desperately intent on prolonging their property rights and privileges, no matter what the cost to humanity, the mass of the workers are confused as to their goal and in most cases unaware of their historic mission to effect the change.

At such a time, a bona fide Marxian International, if it existed, could perform a vital function in spreading the principles of scientific Socialism among the workers of the various countries. Such an organization could do much toward warning the workers against the fatal notion that Socialism can be achieved through the State. It could explain both the class nature of the political State, and the need to supplant it with a Socialist Industrial Union administration.

Unfortunately, there is now no Socialist International.

The Cominform, set up by the masters of the Kremlin in 1947, is, like the so-called "Third International," which they disbanded in 1943, an instrument of Soviet imperialism. Its role is not to aid the workers in the various countries to emancipate themselves; its role is to promote the expansion and integration of Stalinist bureaucratic despotism.

Similarly, the so-called "Socialist International" that was launched at Antwerp, Belgium, in 1947, to the accompaniment of capitalist cheers, was created as an instrument of Western capitalist imperialism. Its component parts, including the British Labor party and the German Social Democracy, as well as other similar and com-

pletely discredited bourgeois-Socialist groups, have all become thoroughly identified as props of capitalism.

As for the Titoists, these former Stalinists (before their expulsion from the Cominform in 1948) continue to propound the major anti-Marxist tenets of Stalinism. Tito's so-called "workers' councils" were and are no more than blinds behind which the bureaucratic Titoist State remains as firmly entrenched as ever.

The only bright spots in this otherwise gloomy international picture are the existence and work of the Socialist Labor Parties of America, Canada and Great Britain. Each of these parties conducts an educational program in its homeland, and, in addition, the Socialist Labor Party of America is spreading the principles and program of De Leonism via correspondence in a score or more of countries.

In accordance with that aim, the Socialist Labor Party, in National Convention assembled in the City of New York on May 5, 1952, again reaffirms its allegiance to the cause of the workers everywhere and to the principles of International Socialism as laid down by Marx, Engels and De Leon, and reiterates its uncompromising adherence to the international class-struggle principle as enunciated by Daniel De Leon and in previous resolutions by Socialist Labor Party National Conventions and endorsed by its membership. Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Socialist Labor Party condemn the false inter-

nationalism of the Cominform, Social Democrats, Tito Communists and Trotskyists, and warn the workers of the world against the Stateist principles of these anti-Marxists; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Socialist Labor Party reaffirm its belief in the value of international organization, when the growth of sound Marxian movements in the various countries makes a bona fide Socialist International possible and feasible; and be it finally

*Resolved*, That the Socialist Labor Party of America extend fraternal greetings to exploited workers everywhere, in renewed affirmation of international working class solidarity and unfaltering adherence to the ideals and principles of Socialism—the universal brotherhood of man.

## **Resolution on the Corruption of the Capitalist State**

*Whereas*, The 23rd National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of America is meeting in the City of New York, May 4, 1952, at a time when the corruption of the capitalist State has become a matter of common knowledge; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Socialist Labor Party of America do everything within its power to drive home the truthful lesson that the corruption of the capitalist State is an inevitable consequence of the corruption of capitalism; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Party point out to the workers and all others who desire a decent society that



capitalism itself is corrupt because it is based on class rule, the exploitation of workers, and the profit motive; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Party emphasize the simple fact that the huge sums that go to the politicians as bribes, as well as the vastly greater sums required for the operation of the corrupt and coercive capitalist State, come from the infinitely greater plunder stolen from the workers by the capitalists at the point of production; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Party make it known that attacks on capitalist effects—including corruption, war, political despotism, poverty, etc.—can never strike at the capitalist cause of the social evils and be it finally

*Resolved*, That the Socialist Labor Party of America pursue its campaign with renewed vigor to demonstrate to the workers and all forward-looking citizens that the only cure for the evils produced by capitalism is Socialism—the system that provides no incentive for corruption and other social evils and that does provide the economic, governmental and social foundation for a society of cooperation in freedom, true democracy and decency.

## Resolution on the Church in Politics

At its 1948 National Convention, the Socialist Labor Party of America solemnly warned "against the reemergence of the historic phenomenon known as Ultramontanism, more popularly understood

as political clericalism, or simply as the Vatican in politics."

Our warning must be repeated at this 1952 National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party. The Roman Catholic political machine is more active than ever in its efforts to serve its political interests under the protective covering of "religion."

The Socialist Labor Party, in keeping with previous declarations, and in harmony with Socialist principles, acknowledges the right of any group, whatever its character, to promote its own special interests in the legitimate fields of politics and economics. We emphasize, however, that the political goals of Vaticanism are anti-social, and that they are designed to meet the immediate needs of the capitalist exploiters and the theocratic ambitions of the clerical politicians. The Vatican's ultimate goal is complete domination over the minds of the workers and, if the institution of private property should come to grief in spite of the efforts of the Church to save it, the vesting of all property in the Church itself. We reiterate that we deny "the right of a group to enter the political arena, cloaked in the garb of religion, challenging and attacking the political and economic theories of those with whom it disagrees, and then claiming immunity from counterattack on the craven and false pretense that such counterattacks constitute attacks on 'religion,' and on the assumed sacrosanct character of the Church."

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President Truman's appointment

of the militarist, General Mark W. Clark, as United States Ambassador to Vatican City, is a recent example of Vaticanism's growing political power and of United States capitalism's official recognition of the value of Vaticanism as a political ally.

The President's withdrawal of the appointment was motivated by political caution in the face of a storm of protest. His pledge that he would not drop the Vatican issue was evidence that the Administration's temporary retreat was not due to a realization of the full logic of the constitutional ban against the merger, in any form or degree, of Church and State.

The clerical politicians' growing importance as defenders of capitalism may be measured by their success in breaching the "wall" that separates Church and State in this country. Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson, in his dissent against the U.S. Supreme Court decision that permitted the public-school system to release children for "religious" instruction, asserted that "the wall which the court was professing to erect between Church and State has become more warped and twisted than I expected."

As a "matter of right," and as a reward for their services to capitalism, the Vatican politicians boldly demand financial support from the capitalist State for their privately controlled schools. The immediate purpose of the demand is to win recognition of the Vatican's schools as an official part of the American school system. The ultimate purpose is to establish the

claim that the Vatican machine has sole jurisdiction over all education.

The Vatican politicians, and particularly the high-ranking members of the Church hierarchy, have shown their unbounded confidence in their ability to reach an accord with the ruling class on education by launching vicious and slanderous attacks on all who oppose them.

The clerical politicians have succeeded to a very great degree in inducing the lay politicians of many cities and states, as well as the motion picture industry, to accept the Roman Catholic Church as the official censor of the motion pictures the American people are allowed to see. Their activities in the censorship of motion pictures are precedents that the Church politicians use, and will continue to use, in extending their censorship to the press, the radio, television and all other forms of public communication. This fact cannot be stressed too emphatically.

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The Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assembled in New York, May 4, 1952, calls upon all workers, and all who love freedom, to heed the warning contained in our citing of a few recent manifestations of the Vatican's political activity; and declares:

(1) That religious beliefs, or non-religious beliefs, are the private and exclusive concern of the individual.

(2) That we stand by the American constitutional principle that no law shall be made respecting religion and insist that no official recognition be given the Vatican,



or its agents, or any other religious organization.

(3) That we urge the American people to oppose the insidious campaign of the Roman Catholic politicians to insinuate themselves into the public-school system of the United States, and to resist clerical censorship as a danger to freedom of speech, press and thought.

(4) That we denounce the attempts of the Roman Catholic political machine to intimidate those of its followers who desire to vote in accordance with their convictions and consciences.

(5) That we brand all such attempts as subversive infringements of the political freedom guaranteed to all citizens by the United States Constitution.

(6) That we denounce the propaganda of falsehood and misinformation conducted by the clerical politicians concerning the principles and objectives of Socialism, especially when such political propaganda is carried on under the cloak of religion, with the accompanying claim for enjoyment of immunity against rebuke, refutation and correction. And—

(7) That we call upon all workers, and all other forward-looking persons, regardless of race, color or creed, to uphold the Socialist Labor Party in these principles and to support the Party's general program, at the polls and otherwise, to the end of terminating the misrule of capitalism and its beneficiaries and agents, be they clerical or otherwise.

## Resolution on Interference With Civil Liberties

When a social system has completed its development and outlived its social usefulness, it becomes a brake on progress and a menace to civilization. Its ruling class, once progressive, turns reactionary and reverts to freedom-destroying practices similar to those it had to overcome itself.

It is so with capitalism too. Finding itself confronted with insoluble problems and with a working class becoming restive, unmanageable and increasingly menacing to capitalist interests, the capitalist class takes fright, and resorts to measures of repression that reflect its state of panic.

In recent times the capitalist class has enacted laws that encroach more and more on the rights and liberties of the people. Inquisitorial investigations have become the order of the day. There is now a campaign of political witch-hunting without parallel in our history. Reactionary labor laws (notably the Taft-Hartley Law) are reducing the workers to a state of unmitigated economic serfdom. Reaction-inspired "loyalty oaths" are being demanded of workers employed by government agencies, and even in many privately owned industries. Ever greater restrictions are being added to election laws, rendering it absolutely impossible in some states, and virtually impossible in many others, for minority parties to secure places on the ballot for their candidates.

Inquisitorial bodies (reminiscent of the worst in the Middle Ages),

such as the Committee on Un-American Activities, the so-called "McCarran Committee," etc., etc., are prying into the private lives and beliefs of citizens suspected of being "subversive," often on the basis of mere rumors started by irresponsible and hate-mongering groups and persons. Loose charges, prompted by ignorance and fear, are made by persons protected by legislative immunity, often to the personal and social injury of those maligned. This nefarious practice, without redress through the courts, has become known as "McCarthyism," and has developed into a veritable scourge inflicted on untold numbers of decent and law-abiding citizens.

In consideration of the foregoing, the Socialist Labor Party, assembled in National Convention this 5th day of May, 1952,

*Resolves*, That these reactionary laws and practices are the logical consequences of a social system which can no longer function in the interest of the mass of the people. And be it further

*Resolved*, That mere protests and reforms are useless and doomed to failure. And be it further

*Resolved*, That we denounce these laws and practices as acts of desperation committed by the usurping capitalist class, conspiring against the welfare of the American people, and particularly against the interests and welfare of the American working class. And be it finally

*Resolved*, That we call upon the workers of America to unite with us to put an end to the corrupt capitalist system which breeds

these and many other evils, to the end of insuring the establishment of a social system—Socialism—that will guarantee to all useful citizens the untrammelled rights and liberties born of the glorious American Revolution, and that moreover will guarantee to them full and happy lives in peace, security and abundance.

## Speech of Acceptance of Eric Hass

Many years ago a cynical politician said that there are just three ways to conduct a political campaign. If your candidate is strong and your platform weak, play up the candidate and play down the platform. On the other hand, if it is your platform that is strong, and your candidate who is weak, play up the platform and play down the candidate. But if you have a weak candidate and a weak platform too, strike up the band and wave the American flag.

It is a safe prediction that in the forthcoming campaign the Republican and Democratic parties will play up personalities for all they are worth. They will play up personalities because there just isn't anything else they *can* play up. They talk about corruption but they haven't any solution for corruption, and both parties are equally tainted with it. They talk about peace but they don't know how to prevent war. In short, they are intellectually bankrupt. In order to get themselves into office they try to get you to put your trust in "glamorous" political personalities. Should this fail, of



course, they can always strike up the band and wave the American flag.

Otherwise with the Socialist Labor Party. To the Socialist Labor Party the thing that counts is not personalities, but principles. It is not *who* the candidate is, but *what* he stands for. Today I was named as the Socialist Labor Party's candidate for President of the United States. And tonight, in formally accepting this nomination, I should like to tell you about the principles and program of the Socialist Labor Party—for these are the things I represent in this campaign.

The Socialist Labor Party platform is unique. Unlike the platforms of the reform parties, it contains not one reform plank, not one vote-baiting promise. It states plainly and without equivocation that the basic cause of the present world crisis is the outmoded and corrupt capitalist system. The social turmoil in the world, the political and economic strife, the fear that haunts all layers of society—these are but symptoms of the fact that the capitalist system has outlived its usefulness and is now in a state of disintegration and collapse. It is the position of the Socialist Labor Party that the capitalist system cannot be reformed so as to benefit the mass of mankind and bring peace to the world. And since capitalism cannot be mended it must be ended, and replaced with a sane social system that *can* insure peace, freedom and social harmony.

Let me illustrate this position. Suppose a group of us occupy a

building. It is an ancient structure, and some of us, alarmed by the falling plaster and the cracks that open ominously in the walls, suspect that the building is unsafe. We decide to have some engineers look it over. They do, and they render a report that reads like this:

"The building is rotten in its foundations. It is unsafe. It should be evacuated, condemned and torn down without delay."

Suppose, after hearing the report, some of us, who have a property interest in the building, denounce the advice of the engineers. "Don't listen to these Socialists," they say. "True, the building has its faults, but instead of tearing it down we should correct these faults. Let us redecorate. Let us patch up the roof and put in some new fixtures."

What would you think of anyone who would argue in this way? Why, you would think they were either criminally irresponsible or mad—and you would be right! The sane and logical thing to do is to tear down the unsafe building and erect a new structure on a safe and sound foundation.

The parallel holds for the capitalist system. Like the building in my illustration, capitalism is unsafe. "Unsafe" did I say? The word is a gross understatement. Capitalism has given us two terrible world wars and an agonizing ten-year depression in a single generation. Think of it! In the relatively brief space of thirty years, capitalism—with its bitter and inevitable international struggle for world trade—has twice plunged

mankind into the fiery furnace of global war! And as if the mass slaughter of tens of millions of human beings were not enough, between these wars capitalism condemned great masses of useful producers to involuntary idleness, blasted their hopes and blighted their lives!

The only reason we are not in a depression today is that capitalism is keeping its industries going with a huge, multi-billion dollar war-preparations program. So far has capitalism gone in this fateful direction, and so much does it depend on arms orders to avert an economic slump, that one of its representative spokesmen, the author and former banker, Mr. James P. Warburg, has stated publicly that "We [meaning the capitalists] are rapidly acquiring a vested interest in *not* making peace."

The Socialist Labor Party appeals to serious-minded men and women not to blind themselves to the facts. Capitalism is taking us down the road to a third world war. Make no mistake about it; this time it will be an atomic war, a war of utter desolation. We say it is folly to prolong such a system.

That is why the Socialist Labor Party Platform has no reform planks. That is why the Socialist Labor Party Platform urges you to stop voting for capitalist politicians, with their campaign promises, and to vote for working class candidates who represent a fundamental social change. Vote for Socialism.

In their effort to preserve the old, unsafe structure of capitalism

and to prolong their class privileges the capitalists try to discredit the idea of Socialism in the eyes of the American workers. To do this they deliberately create a false and repelling image of Socialism. While, on the one hand, they falsely describe capitalism as "democracy," on the other hand they say that if the country were to go Socialist, democracy would disappear and everyone would be regimented by the State.

Now, in the first place, it is not true that "capitalism" and "democracy" are the same thing. Here in capitalist America we have a measure of political democracy. But this is not invariably an attribute of capitalism. Over in Franco's Spain they also have capitalism, but the political system in Spain is an undisguised dictatorship.

The truth of the matter is that capitalist economic despotism is in conflict with political democracy. Recently, the New York *Times*, a well known spokesman for plutocratic capitalism, admitted that democracy is coming out second best in this struggle with economic despotism. In a leading editorial the *Times* said:

"Let us not fool ourselves. 'Freedom of the mind and spirit' is not as prevalent and not as pure in this country today as it was ten years ago."

This is, if anything, an understatement. For many a year now the capitalist class has been in a state bordering on panic. And as its fears for its class privileges rise, the civil liberties of the people are chipped away, and the demo-



cratic spirit is systematically crushed. Capitalism is not the defender of democracy that it pretends to be; it is the destroyer of democracy. The witch-hunts and loyalty oaths, the exaltation of the military, the use of the irresponsible smear to enforce orthodox conformity—all these are evidence that capitalism is taking us away from democracy and toward a militarized, plutocratic feudalism.

The propagandists for capitalism say that if Socialism takes over it will mean the end of democracy. The facts are just the opposite. When Socialism is established, democracy will have a new birth. The word "democracy" is derived from the Greek words, *demos*, meaning the people, and *kratos*, meaning to rule. Democracy means rule of, by and for the people. And Socialism, by ending the economic despotism of capital, and by giving the workers a democratic mastery of their tools and products, will make rule of, by and for the people a glorious reality.

What is Socialism? First of all, let me ask you to put out of your minds the notion that they have, or have had, Socialism in Great Britain, or that Russia is a Marxist nation. In Britain, the Labor party nationalized a few industries, but this made them no more socialistic than our post office is socialistic or our nationalized army is socialistic. All that happened in Britain was that in a few industries the workers exchanged their private capitalist masters for bureaucratic masters.

As for Russia, under Stalin Russia has become a vast bureaucratic

despotism. Any one who knows what Marxism really means, knows that Soviet Russia has violated everything Karl Marx stood for.

Socialism, bona fide Socialism, is the next higher form of social organization in mankind's onward and upward march. Under Socialism, the land, factories and all the means of social production will be owned by all the people collectively, and operated democratically by the workers in the various industries through Industrial Union Councils.

Socialism must be won in America by means of the ballot. But do not imagine that simply by voting for Socialism, we shall, as if by magic, find ourselves in a Promised Land. Behind the Socialist ballot the workers must be organized in the industries, into Socialist Industrial Unions, prepared to take over the control, operation and management of the nation's economy.

The Socialist Industrial Unions represent a mighty non-violent force to back up the Socialist ballot. But they are more than this. They are also the basis of the Industrial Democracy of tomorrow. They are the framework of the new Socialist government. In the Socialist Industrial Unions we shall create the organs of Socialist administration. And through democratically controlled Industrial Union Councils we shall, under Socialism, manage and direct social production for the benefit of all the people.

These are the principles that I, as one of the Socialist Labor Party's standard bearers, represent in

this campaign. Fellow workers, and all other forward-looking citizens, with all the earnestness we possess, we urge you to study these principles. Study them seriously and without prejudice because they are the principles destined to liberate mankind and bring peace to the world.

### Acceptance speech of Stephen Emery

I accept with a deep sense of responsibility the task of being one of the Socialist Labor Party's national standard bearers in the 1952 campaign.

Events are hurrying this nation toward a catastrophe, which only the working class can avert. The need of the hour, therefore, is to demonstrate to the workers that: (1) to banish war, depression and fascism, capitalism must be banished; (2) to win peace, security and freedom, Socialism must be built; (3) this revolutionary reconstruction must be carried through by the working class, organized politically and industrially on the basis outlined by Daniel De Leon.

None but the Socialist Labor Party will undertake this needful work. None but the S.L.P.'s spokesmen will state plainly why and how capitalism is to be swept aside. All other parties will seek to confuse the workers with double-talk. All other parties will seek to betray them with promises to reform capitalism.

If these other parties succeed again in preventing a revolutionary awakening of the working class—catastrophe is certain! We of the

S.L.P. must rout the confusers and betrayers! We must reach the classconsciousness of our fellow workingmen and women! We must arouse them to organize the Socialist Industrial Union before disaster strikes!

To the fulfillment of this imperative work, I pledge to give the full message of my energy and ability during the current national campaign.

### Workers, This Is Your Party!

Text of a talk broadcast by Eric Hass, S.L.P. candidate for President, on Saturday, August 2, over Station WWJ, Detroit, Mich.

In his speech accepting the Democratic Presidential nomination, Governor Stevenson said: "... the Democratic party is the people's party, not the labor party, not the employers' party—it is the party of no one because it is the party of everyone."

Now, as high-sounding rhetoric this may be pleasing to the ear. But, does it state a truth? Is it possible for the Democratic party, or for any party, to be "the party of everyone"? Can any party represent the interests of the workers and at the same time represent the interests of the capitalists who live on the sweat and toil of the workers? The Socialist Labor Party says, and I shall prove to you tonight, that this is not possible—any more than it is possible to ride two horses going in exactly opposite directions.

The Socialist Labor Party is right about this because, whether we like it or not, capitalist society is a class-divided society. By this



ic system is so organized that it keeps the capitalists and workers perpetually embroiled in conflict and strife.

You have all heard the expression "class struggle." According to the apologists of capitalism the class struggle is the evil invention of Karl Marx. This is nonsense. Karl Marx didn't *invent* the class struggle any more than Columbus *invented* America. Columbus, sailing west from the Old World, *discovered* America. And Karl Marx, making his deep and scholarly study of the economic system of capitalism, *discovered* the class struggle.

Marx discovered that while the workers of brain and brawn perform all useful labor and produce all social wealth, they are robbed of the major part of their product by the capitalists, by a class, that is, that performs no useful economic function whatsoever but simply owns the factories and tools with which the workers work.

And Marx discovered also that the focal point of the class struggle is the division of labor's product. On the one hand, the workers, acting under the silent pressures of poverty, and goaded by the painful prod of rising living costs, are compelled to strive by various means, including strikes and threats of strikes, to increase their "share." On the other hand, the capitalists are under the compulsion of competitive forces, not to mention the greed that their system engenders, ferociously to resist attempts to raise wages and, in their turn, to strive by various

means to diminish the workers' share and increase their own.

This is the meaning of the industrial strife that convulses capitalist society. This is the meaning of class legislation, such as the Taft-Hartley Act, that is enacted to tie the workers' hands and to weight the scales on the side of the capitalists.

Now it is a sobering and significant fact that in this struggle the workers are steadily losing ground. The defenders of capitalism tell us we enjoy unprecedented prosperity, but in millions of American working class homes the number-one question is how to make ends meet. Tonight, in this great industrial metropolis, thousands of workingmen will lie awake fretting with anxiety over their personal economic problems.

There is prosperity all right. You can see it in the night clubs and at the race tracks. You can see it in the immense expansion of the capitalists' industrial wealth. You can see it in the fabulous profits of the great corporations. But it is the capitalists and not the workers who are the beneficiaries. The American working class is producing wealth at an annual rate of more than \$350 billion, but the majority of the workers barely get by from one payday to the next.

Do you now understand why we say that Governor Stevenson's claim that the Democratic party is "the party of everyone"—capitalists and workers alike—is a false claim? Of course it is a false claim! Moreover, it is a false claim that is made with the deliberate intention of deceiving the

workers, or trying to make them believe that the Democratic party is basically different from its capitalist Siamese twin, the Republican party.

But the Democratic party is not basically different from the Republican party. Both parties support capitalism and, in turn, both parties have the support, financial and otherwise, of the capitalist class. It is a fact, the significance of which should not escape you, that nearly all the capitalist newspapers, even those that endorsed the Republican candidate, General Eisenhower, have expressed warm satisfaction over the Democrats' choice of Governor Stevenson. What the capitalist editors are saying, in effect, is this: "No matter which way the election goes, we win. Both men are our men. They may differ over methods but their goal is the same—namely, to save the capitalist system and thereby to preserve the wealth and privileges of the capitalist class."

Tonight, in addressing you as the Socialist Labor Party's candidate for President, I shall speak plainly and without equivocation. The Socialist Labor Party is *not* "the party of everyone." The Socialist Labor Party is the party of labor. It is the party of the working class.

Now, this is not so because a majority of the workers support the Socialist Labor Party. Unfortunately the majority of the workers are still looking for a Moses to lead them out of the wilderness, hence they are still being roped in by capitalist politicians who pose as "friends of labor." The reason

that the Socialist Labor Party is truly the party of the working class is simply that through its program, and its program alone, the workers can build a world of peace, freedom and plenty for all.

Now I address myself directly to the men and women who are workers—and by "workers" I mean teachers as well as truck drivers, and technicians as well as the unskilled and semi-skilled. I ask you: Just what kind of world do you want? Do you want to live forever in fear and insecurity? Surely not! Yet fear and insecurity, war and depression are all that the outmoded capitalist system has to offer. It is true that business is humming today. But you know *why* it is humming. It is humming because Uncle Sam is spending tens of billions on tanks and jet fighters and atom bombs. Fighting a war, or preparing for one, is the way the capitalists are keeping their system going. This is the only way they *can* keep it going.

We Socialists say, and we believe all reasonable men and women will agree—once they have thought the matter through without prejudice—that in this age of atomic warfare the policy of preserving a social system that relies on war and war preparations *just to keep going* is a policy of insanity and social suicide. If we keep this decadent system, as surely as night follows day we shall have a war of utter desolation. Make no mistake about that!

A moment ago I asked what kind of world you want. Now let me



tell you what kind of world you could have if you and the rest of the working class awoke to the revolutionary implications of the present crisis, repudiated the capitalist politicians and got behind the program of the Socialist Labor Party.

First of all, Socialism means a world of economic security and plenty for all. This will follow because under Socialism all the means of production and distribution—the factories, mines, mills, land, railroads, etc.—will be owned socially by all the people. Production will be carried on to satisfy human needs, not for sale and private profit as is the case today. The economy will be freed from its dependence on a capricious capitalist market, hence depressions and unemployment will not be possible. Instead of kicking workers out of their jobs, new machines and new techniques will kick hours out of the working day. And, since there will be no parasitic ruling class to ride in luxurious idleness on the workers' backs, everyone who performs useful work will receive the full social value of his labor.

Socialism will mean peace, too—not just a period of nervous truce between wars, but blessed, lasting peace. Disarmament under capitalism is a delusion because no nation will demobilize its armies while the underlying economic cause of war remains. But Socialism will put an end to capitalist exploitation, hence to the capitalist economic rivalry that leads to war. Socialism will create a sound economic foundation in cooperation for real, lasting peace.

Finally, Socialism will mean freedom. Many people are being frightened away from the liberating principles of Socialism by the erroneous claim that Socialism prevails in Russia. As the Socialist Labor Party pointed out years ago, the masters of the Russian State have, in the name of Karl Marx, repudiated everything that Marx stood for, everything that true Socialism stands for. They have used Socialistic phrases to disguise a bureaucratic despotism that is in every sense the direct opposite of Socialism.

Socialism, Marxian Socialism, as applied and developed by the great American Marxian Socialist, Daniel De Leon, means a society in which the industries are managed democratically by the workers themselves through their own Socialist Industrial Union Councils. It means the abolition of the bureaucratic political State and the erection of a government based directly on industry. The Industrial Union Government as advocated by the Socialist Labor Party is the only kind of government that is consonant with democracy and freedom in an industrial age. It is the only kind of government that can guarantee to the rank and file of workers a democratic mastery of their tools and products.

We can have this Socialist world of security, peace and freedom whenever you and the rest of the working class are ready to organize politically and industrially to get it. The program of the Socialist Labor Party points the way. This is the program that my running mate, Stephen Emery, and

I represent in this campaign. With all the earnestness we possess we ask you to study it, spread it among your fellow workers and support it with your vote next November. Repudiate the politicians that masquerade as "Friends of labor" yet defend the privileges and property of the class that exploits you! Vote in the interests of *your* class, the working class! Vote for Socialism and a world of security, peace and freedom!

## The World's Debt to De Leon

Address by National Secretary Arnold Petersen at the De Leon Centennial-National Convention banquet, Saturday, May 3, 1932, in New York.

The occasion for this festal gathering tonight is a twofold one: We are launching a great national campaign which we hope to make the most memorable attack on the citadel of the capitalist robber system in our history; and we are commemorating the centennial of the birth of the great founder of the Socialist Labor Party, Daniel De Leon. It is with pleasurable pride that we observe the coinciding of these two events. The campaign we are launching is a renewed challenge to the last form of slavery on earth, the insidious capitalist wage slavery, a slavery far more deadly, though more "refined," than the brutal and undisguised chattel slavery abolished in this country nearly a century ago. We may say that one hundred years ago untrammelled wage slavery was heralded in this country, and it was soon firmly established. And one hundred years ago the most uncompromising foe of that

slavery was born in this hemisphere, one whose adult life, or the greater part of it, was dedicated to the emancipation of the despoiled wage slaves.

In commemorating the centennial of Daniel De Leon, we are conscious of the great debt we owe him as teacher and guide. We pride ourselves on our uncompromising spirit, which was inspired in us by De Leon. We of the S.L.P. are wholly free of racial and other narrow prejudices. De Leon taught us to condemn these. S.L.P. men and women can hold their own against any contender in the camp of anti-Marxism. De Leon instructed us in the art of logic and reasoning, and in the fields of the social sciences, and he besought us ever to be sure of our facts, and never to speak or write until we had substantiated them beyond the possibility of error. We also boast of our self-discipline, our obedience to facts and our acceptance of majority rule. These are practices made part of our very beings through many a lesson imparted to us by De Leon, and we never have forgotten, nor shall we ever forget them. Internationalism—international working class solidarity—is the very breath in our nostrils, and it is to De Leon that we are indebted for our clear understanding and practice of it. And as De Leon was an exemplar of intellectual integrity and forthrightness in his dealings with friend and foe alike, so we, in our daily lives, strive to practice these virtues, and to justify his proud boast that the S.L.P. is a character builder *par excellence*.



tionalism as being the very breath in our nostrils. On countless occasions De Leon, as well as the Party, gave ample proof of our acceptance and sincere practice of this quality, which is the logical complement of international Socialism. As one of the many manifestations of our solidarity with the workers of other countries, we point to the existence of Socialist Labor Parties and groups overseas, notably in Great Britain, Australia and, of course, in Canada. Up to the time of World War I we also had a Socialist Labor Party in South Africa, with headquarters at Johannesburg, but unhappily it fell victim to the madness of that first worldwide butchery inflicted upon mankind by international capitalism.

It is in keeping with this tradition of international working class solidarity that we announce with pride and pleasure that we have with us on this memorable occasion as our distinguished guest the veteran National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain, Comrade Leonard Cotton. You will presently hear from Comrade Cotton, but at this point I should like to read two communications I received a few days ago from Great Britain. One is a brief message of greeting from the National Executive Committee of the British Socialist Labor Party, and the other a slightly longer message from the Coventry Branch of our brother Party. This is the message from the N.E.C.:

American Socialist Labor Party.

"We send to you our greetings and best wishes on the occasion of the Centennial Anniversary of the birth of Daniel De Leon, and the Quadrennial Convention.

"Today the world's workers face a situation fraught with dire peril, a situation which can, and probably will, develop with frightful consequences, sooner or later. With pulpit, press and all sources of capitalist propaganda, united and hell-bent to create greater confusion in the minds of the workers, we seem to be overwhelmed and our difficulties more multitudinous. Greater efforts to stem the torrent of misrepresentation, deceit and downright lies seem to meet with such meager results. Only the knowledge that truth and the S.L.P. are indivisible gives us the strength and courage to keep our colors nailed to the masthead.

"This year of 1952, the hundredth anniversary of the birth of our Comrade and Teacher, may be the fateful year.

"Any doubts or fears that may arise, if our efforts do not meet with immediate success, must be cast aside. Time is short, and there is so much to do that we resolve to redouble our efforts to get our message acknowledged by the workers of Great Britain.

"Fraternally yours,

H. Bates

Thomas Holman

J. Forrest

[Members of the N.E.C.]"

And here follows the message from the Coventry Branch:

S.L.P.:

"We, the members of the Coventry Branch, Great Britain, extend to you our fraternal greetings on this your De Leon Centennial Congress and join with you in paying respect to the memory of that great architect of Marxian Socialist society. And in honoring the memory of Daniel De Leon we remember, too, the formidable task which lies before us, of convincing the workers of the correctness of the S.L.P. position, and of the urgent need for them to heed it before the capitalist system brings our civilization crashing in ruins about us.

"Here in this ancient and historic city of Coventry we have examples around us that continually remind us of the growth and development of capitalism in all its phases: from the medieval trade guilds, to the small weaving and watch-making concerns that operated in workshops built above their dwelling houses, to the great capitalist combines turning out automobiles, electrical equipment and artificial silk by the mass production methods of modern industry, wherein the workers are mere pawns in a scramble for profits.

"We have evidence, too, of the awful, destructive powers of capitalism when it lets slip its dogs of war. With the memory still green of those grim experiences of 1941-42, when a third of our city was laid waste by enemy raids and thousands were killed or left homeless, we are faced with the prospect of another and more terrible war in which the lethal potency of

have increased many thousandfold.

"Therefore, with this in our minds we pledge ourselves to exert all our powers with the aim of convincing the workers of the need to wipe out once and for all, root and branch, the capitalist system, and bring into being that free and ennobled society for which De Leon stood, and from which he never swerved.

"We remain, dear Comrades,

"Yours fraternally,

Members of the Coventry

Branch,

A. H. Green

Secretary

H. Bates

Chairman."

We are happy and proud to recognize in the sentiments expressed in these communications the true De Leonist spirit. As you know, De Leon visited Great Britain in 1904, and reported his impressions and findings in his "Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress." Referring to the vitality and resourcefulness of the young British S.L.P. movement, De Leon observed:

"Its membership is active, well posted, serious and determined. There is the S.L.P. attitude everywhere—the sword drawn, the scabbard thrown away. Yet theirs is a task infinitely more arduous than the sufficiently arduous task that confronts the S.L.P. everywhere else... The fight taken by the British S.L.P. is daring. How daring may be measured by the exceptionally mountain-high difficulties to overcome. But to the brave difficulties are only encouragements."



The American S.L.P. salutes its British comrades in that dauntless De Leonist spirit that recognizes no insurmountable obstacles, and knows not the word "defeat." In that spirit we pursue our aim tirelessly, as we have pursued it for sixty long years and more. We are dedicated to that aim today, as

firmly and enthusiastically as was Daniel De Leon. And it is in fond and reverent remembrance of him that on this occasion we hail the illustrious proletarian champion on this the one hundredth anniversary of his birth. May his spirit and example ever remain with us!

## Socialist Labor Party Presidential Vote, 1952

Based on the official report issued by the Federal Government, corrected to March 1, 1953, with write-in votes from California, Oregon and Wisconsin added.

|                                                          |        |
|----------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Arkansas .....                                           | 1      |
| California (write-in, incomplete) .....                  | 273    |
| Colorado .....                                           | 352    |
| Connecticut .....                                        | 535    |
| Delaware .....                                           | 242    |
| Illinois .....                                           | 9,363  |
| Indiana .....                                            | 979    |
| Iowa .....                                               | 139    |
| Kentucky .....                                           | 893    |
| Maine .....                                              | 156    |
| Massachusetts .....                                      | 1,957  |
| Michigan .....                                           | 1,495  |
| Minnesota .....                                          | 2,383  |
| Missouri .....                                           | 169    |
| New Jersey .....                                         | 5,815  |
| New Mexico .....                                         | 35     |
| New York .....                                           | 1,560  |
| Ohio (write-in, not recorded)                            |        |
| Oregon (write-in, incomplete) .....                      | 50     |
| Pennsylvania .....                                       | 1,347  |
| Rhode Island .....                                       | 83     |
| Virginia .....                                           | 1,160  |
| Washington .....                                         | 633    |
| Wisconsin (incomplete) .....                             | 770    |
| Wyoming .....                                            | 36     |
| Total for Presidential candidates (excluding Ohio) ..... | 30,426 |







PROCEEDINGS NATIONAL CONVENTION SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY 1952